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THE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA NEGRO-AMERICAN WORKER WITH THE LABOR UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

by

Fred Stripp

A thesis presented in partial ful-
fillment of the work required for
the Ph.D Degree in the Department
of Christian Ethics at the Pacific
School of Religion, Berkeley, Cali-
fornia, May 24, 1948, Dr. Buell G.
Gallagher, Supervising Professor

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DEDICATION

TO

DORRIS

If all of us patterned our attitudes and actions after hers, the race problem would vanish. The writer has never known anyone more completely free from race prejudice.

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FOREWORD

The Negro-American worker has served in thousands of individual instances as a strike breaker. He has also been a "gap-filler" in the labor vacuum at various times. Chapters I and II discuss these topics. The operation of the labor vacuum theory in California has been unique. This accounts for the treatment of the Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, and Filipino worker along with the Negro worker in Chapter II.

The difference in organizational structure and the difference in numerical size of the AFL has seemed to require a more extensive analysis than was necessary in the case of the CIO in the Bay Area. This explains in great part the difference in length between Chapters III and IV.

The number of Negro-Americans recorded for the various locals are, in the main, careful estimates. There are some exact counts in cases where the individual Negro workers were known to the union official or where separate records were kept. Some union officers were kind enough to take an actual count for this study.

The 205 separate local unions contacted represent a fairly comprehensive sampling of the AFL unions in the five categories studied and of the CIO unions included in Chapter IV. The coverage has not been exhaustive, however.

A word should be written in appreciation of the courtesy of almost every union official contacted. Time was given, interviews granted, and questions answered with courtesy and

cooperation. The three exceptions to this rule have made the rule the more impressive.

Special thanks is due the Negro-American leaders who have given generously of their time in extensive interviews to the writer. Mr. C.L. Dellums, who is President of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in the Bay Area, is also President of the branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Alameda County. He has been helpful in both capacities. Mr. Henry T.S. Johnson, Jr., Executive Secretary of the Alameda County Branch of the NAACP, has gone over case studies of Negro workers with the writer, which involved labor unions. This has been helpful. Mr. Donald Glover, Labor Secretary of the Urban League in San Francisco, has been working with individual Negro workers on problems involving labor and management. His granting of two interviews was helpful. Mr. William Frierson, Labor Secretary of the NAACP in San Francisco and a member of Boilermakers Local 6, also granted the writer a helpful interview.

The friendly interest and guiding suggestions of Dr. Davis McEntire, Dr. Clark Kerr, Dr. Cy Record, and Mr. Harry Kingman, colleagues in the University of California family, have been appreciated.

The encouragement of three respected friends led to the undertaking of the study, Professor Gerald Marsh, Professor Buell Gallagher, and Provost Emeritus Monroe Deutsch. The

first two chapters were suggested by Dr. Gallagher. The two years spent with him in preparation for the Doctoral Degree have been most rewarding to the writer.

The volunteer typing of sections of the manuscript by Mrs. Helen Griffiths, Mrs. Evelyn Cornet, and Miss Jean Backus merits the writer's heartfelt gratitude.

Finally, to the wife of the writer and to the two small children in the family, Steven, age 5, and Virginia, age 2½, sincere thanks for turning over the living room of their home to the many hours entailed in the preparation of this Thesis.

Fred Stripp

Berkeley, California
May 23, 1948

CHAPTER I

THE NEGRO AS A STRIKE BREAKER

Thirty-five years before the Emancipation Proclamation was read by Abraham Lincoln, violent race riots were in process in the Northern states of Ohio and Pennsylvania. At first the native born of English ancestry and the newly arrived Irish and German immigrants had opposed slavery and had rejoiced when slaves were freed or escaped into the North. When the Negroes came to the big Northern cities as freemen, however, they were also job competitors. Economic fear found expression in violence. A Cincinnati mob went on a three day rampage in 1829, killing and injuring emancipated Negroes and fugitive slaves and destroying property. Two thousand free Negroes left Cincinnati for Canada. Philadelphia saw a twelve year series of race riots reach its peak in a three day pitched battle in 1834. In addition to the loss of life, thirty-one houses and two churches were destroyed. These riots occurred in the period when there were but 225,000 freedmen scattered through East, North, and West, before the four million slaves in the South were freed to become a vast labor potential.

1855 was the year which saw the introduction of the Negro-American in the role of strike breaker on the New York docks. When the two derogatory terms, "nigger" and "scab", both heavily freighted with economic significance, are combined to produce the hate laden epithet, "nigger-scab", it is not difficult to imagine the savagery of the battles fought on the Morgan Line Docks.

During the Civil War black longshoremen were mobbed in

New York in 1862. The following year Negroes were used to break longshore strikes in several Eastern ports. Race riots broke out in these and other cities of the Union, among them New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Buffalo, and Albany. Emancipation year also saw the New York draft riots. Compulsory conscription brought angry desertions, riots, and mob violence, which fell at their climax on the Negroes, with the rationalization that they were the cause of the war. Negroes were hanged to trees and lamp posts, beaten, robbed, tortured, their homes sacked and burned, they and their families driven from the streets to take refuge in swamps, woods, barns, and out-houses. The draft riots rendered 5000 Negro-Americans homeless. And, as yet, the vast reservoir of black labor in the South was still enslaved. These were freedmen in the North. Only five per cent of the Negro population was located in the North.

This four day riot, put down by a thousand troops under General Wood, cost the Negro community between five hundred and a thousand lives and $1,200,000 property loss. It led Lincoln to say:

> "None are so deeply interested to resist the present rebellion as the working people. Let them beware of prejudice, working division and hostility among themselves. The most notable feature of a disturbance in your city...was the hanging of some working people by other working people. It should never be so. The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds." (1)

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(1) W.E.B. Du Bois, Black Reconstruction, 216

Prejudices did work division and hostility among these two groups of workers, however, for the two had been divided during slavery, and they remained divided after Emancipation. As Spero and Harris put it:

> "The black man, who as a slave looked to his master for protection and found it, because it was to the master's interest to block the white workman's competition, now looked to his new master, his employer, when the pressure of white labor's competition pushed him back." (1)

The four million free blacks were not looked upon as a normal source of labor supply when they were first freed. But they were soon tapped as an industrial reserve to defeat the white worker's eight hour day crusade, to break his strikes in the mines, on the docks, in the stockyards, in the clothing industry, among the teamsters, on the railroads, in the metal trades, and in the steel mills.

The northward migration was another significant factor in white and black labor relations. Chapter II includes a study of migration. Myrdal's study points up the steadiness of the stream of Negroes moving to the North. Interesting to this study is the one exception to this steadiness, "occasional sudden influxes of Negroes as a result of the demands for strike breakers." (2)

The Caucasian trade unionist, in the main, did not organize the Negro worker in the period following the Civil War. The Negro worker remained where he had been for decades, in agriculture and in domestic service. The white union would

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(1) Spero and Harris, The Black Worker, 15
(2) Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, 193

not accept him and give him job protection. The white employer would not hire him at the same wage paid to whites in non strike periods. Some employers permitted Negroes to break into their employ only after strike breaking.

With over 90 per cent of its labor unskilled at the close of the Civil War, and thus automatically excluded from craft unions, and with apprenticeships reserved almost completely for whites, the Negro found himself in one of Myrdal's "vicious circles". He could not get the job unless he joined the union. He couldn't join the union without the skilled job. He was blocked from both, which may have made him willing to become a strike breaker. In this way he could fight back at the man who was excluding him from economic opportunity.

The initial success of the Negro strike breaker against the white longshoremen on the docks of New York in 1862 led to his use against them in a half dozen Eastern cities the following year. The employers rewarded the Negroes with jobs of a more permanent nature in certain instances.

Excluded from the white unions the longshore Negro formed his own labor organizations. Among the first successful Negro unions were the Charleston local, organized in 1867, the Baltimore local, 1871, and the New Orleans local, 1872. The latter, which is still strong today (1948), has the distinction of being the oldest Negro union still in existence. For most of its life it has also been one of the strongest.

The aristocracy of dock labor in the Southern ports in this period were the screwmen, who screwed the bales of

cotton down with hand screws to tighten the individual bales and make more storage space available on the ships. These "labor aristocrats" were all Caucasians, but whenever they felt lazy, they called Negro longshoremen over to help them heave the screws. Thus the art was learned by Negroes, who became the nucleus of a strike breaking team in the 'nineties. Their success against the whites won a beach-head for the blacks in this important and limited field. When the next strike came up, the Negroes did their bargaining with the white screwmen, backing the strike against the employers and winning a "fifty-fifty" job allotment as a result. This equal division of work not only helped to maintain fifty years of labor peace, but was a pattern for other settlements between white and black union locals on the docks of other ports.

1916 saw Negroes used for the first time on the Pennsylvania piers and on the Baltimore & Ohio piers as strike breakers. They had been unable to crack the all white front on the railroad piers prior to 1916. Their resentment against the whites came out in their eagerness to break these strikes. The attitude of white unions had given Negro labor and Negro leadership in general a feeling of antagonism toward organized labor. This resentment was a factor in retarding the progress of the labor movement in that area for some time.

A series of strikes on New York docks in 1895, 1899, and 1907 won the Negro strike breaker a more permanent place

than the earlier 1855 and 1863 strike breaking successes had given him. The Labor shortage during the World War gave him an even stronger hold in this labor area. The Ward Lines, for one, inaugurating the use of Negroes from 50 per cent to occasional 100 per cent crews on their docks.

It is a point of interest here that other minority groups used to break strikes have won similar preference on certain lines. New York's Kerr Line gave preference to longshoremen of Italian ancestry after their help in breaking the "big strike" of 1887. German gangs held Baltimore for many years, losing their monopoly when Negro strike breakers in 1900 helped the employers defeat the strike against Sunday work. The Irish had been dominant in New York despite the loss of strikes due to Negro strike breakers, but lost out to the Italians in the "big strike" mentioned above. The Slovaks have dominated certain lines and certain local unions. Hungarians have had local unions exclusively designed to include their own group and exercise monopoly job controls.

This cleavage along nationalistic lines has made union solidarity a difficult accomplishment and the color line has increased the difficulty. The unification of white and black labor among the Philadelphia longshoremen in 1913, which has carried down to 1948, was an exception to the general rule. Its achievement was primarily due to the efforts of the "one big union" concept of the International Workers of the World.

Strike breaking, despite its sabotage of union solidarity,

has resulted in increased job opportunities for Negro longshoremen. In 1930 he controlled one third of the longshore and stevedore jobs in the nation. (1)

The well documented study by Spero and Harris includes this observation on the place of the Negro in the longshore unions.

> "The importance of the Negro's place in their industry has made it impossible for the longshoremen to ignore him in their organizations. He probably plays a more important role in their movement than he does in any other labor union. The International Longshoremen's Association has three Negro vice-presidents and regularly seats several score of Negro delegates at its national convention. Race prejudice and inter-racial competition have by no means been abolished, but the white and black workers have effected a working arrangement which harmonizes their differences sufficiently to enable them to work together in a single organization." (2)

The Negro worker was also active as a strike breaker in the coal mines. Ohio and Pennsylvania miners were his victims in 1880. The men in the Tuscarawas Valley had been fighting the employers in a nine months' strike. They had demanded the eight hour day, wage payments every two weeks, "fair tonnage", and the abolition of the monopoly exercised by the company store. The employers, at the end of the nine months' struggle, imported Negro strike breakers under military protection. This combination of government, management, and the Negro strike breaker defeated the collective efforts of the miners.

The Pittsburgh district lost out to Negro strike breakers

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(1) Myrdal, 1097
(2) Spero and Harris, 183

from Virginia. The successes won by the employers in these two states offered a precedent for operators facing strikes in other mining areas.

Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Kansas miners saw their employers bring Negro strike breakers against them in the 'nineties with handbills like this sample included in Spero and Harris' chapter on the coal mines.

> "Wanted! Colored coal-miners for Weir City, Kan., district, the paradise for colored people... ninety-seven cents per ton September 1 to March 1; 87½ cents per ton March 1 to September 1, for screened coal over seven-eighths inch opening. Special train will leave Birmingham the 13th. Transportation advanced. Get ready and go to the land of promise." (1)

The first 175 Negroes responding to this particular call were met by the miners at Fleming Camp. As the men had anticipated, the Negroes knew nothing of the strike, and were not aware that the jobs offered on the handbills committed them to strike breaking. In this instance the Negro workers who had not been intending to break a strike did not become strike breakers. 125 of them refused to enter the stockade erected for their protection. Some of the Negroes returned to Birmingham. Some actually stayed in Fleming Camp and fought with the strikers against the employers. The companies soon put an end to occurrences of this nature. Injunctions were secured from the courts, which were controlled by the employers, to prevent the miners from interfering with the importation of strike

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(1) Spero and Harris, 211

breakers. Ensuing shipments were managed successfully. The example of Fleming Camp indicates the possibility of a united front between white and black labor. Such unity was the exception to the rule at this point in the American labor movement.

The 1897 general strike in Illinois found the entry of Negro strike breakers opposed by Governor Tanner, who announced that they were products of the convict-labor system of the Alabama chain-gangs. He ordered the militia to prevent their disembarkation. Virden, Illinois was the scene of violence and gunfire when Negro strike breakers appeared, though the victims were ten guards and nine miners, no Negroes being involved in the actual fighting. Pana, Illinois witnessed a riot when armed Negroes tried to prevent unarmed Negroes from departing the strike breaker role after union members had acquainted them with the working conditions in the mines, from their point of view.

Western Pennsylvania used Negro strike breakers in 1892 and 1895, but it was not until 1922, 1925, and 1927 that their strike breaking won them a foothold there.

The West Coast saw some Negro labor used by employers against the Western Federation of Miners, but the tactic was not extensively used in the West. Distance probably rendered the technique less practical, the violent tactics of the Western Federation members possibly made it appear more dangerous, and the tight control exercised by the operators may have made it seem relatively less necessary.

West Virginia plagued the miners' unions as the most unorganizable section in the coal fields. The presence of great numbers of Negroes and the vast industrial reserve of more Negroes where these had come from helped to keep West Virginia the proverbial "gun pointed at the heart of the union". The West Virginia operators had singular success with the importation of large numbers of Negro agricultural workers from neighboring states further South. This factor was influential in defeating the miners' strikes and keeping West Virginia under the open shop policy long after the other coal fields were unionized.

The policy of the United Mine Workers toward the use of the Negro strike breaker is summarized by Northrup in his 1944 study in a section dealing with the Negro and the coal mines.

> "As early as 1880, and as late as 1927, southern Negroes, fresh from the cotton fields and totally ignorant of industrial conflict, were imported as strike breakers. Although this resulted in serious racial outbreaks on several occasions, the UMW officials did not attempt to fight the operators by drawing the color line. Had they done so, they would undoubtedly have encouraged the importation of more colored strike breakers. Instead, they encouraged the Negroes to join the union and guaranteed them full privileges of membership. Racial friction and discrimination in the central competitive and south-western fields did not vanish, to be sure. But the methods used by the UMW to combat the importation of Negro strike breakers kept it at a minimum." (1)

Myrdal points out that the Negro coal miner makes up one of the more favorably situated groups in the colored working

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(1) Herbert R. Northrup, Organized Labor and the Negro, 161-162

class world. His occupational status is practically on a par with that of the white worker, a condition almost unknown in other industries. He is afforded the protection of a union which proclaims and practices a policy of almost complete racial equality. (1) The 38,560 Negro coal miners listed in the 1940 census made up 7.4 per cent of the work force in the nation's mines. (2) It is probably undeniable that strike breaking has accounted for some of those thousands.

When Negroes broke strike in the Chicago stockyards to gain their first small share of this important unorganized labor force, the reaction of the whites, including the non-striking foremen of the yards, was bitter and violent. Spero and Harris include in their book on the Negro worker a descriptive paragraph from the Chicago Record-Herald of July 19, 1894.

> "Swinging from the cross tree of a telegraph pole at the corner of Root and Halsted Streets, near the entrance to the yards, the effigy of a Negro roustabout was suspended. A black face of hideous expression had been fixed upon the head of straw and a placard pinned upon the breast of the figure bore the skull and cross bones with the words 'nigger-scab' above and below in bold letters." (3)

The 1904 strike saw so many Negroes imported that much of the packing industry of Chicago seemed to be operated by the black worker. 10,000 strike breaking Negroes entered the Chicago plants alone.

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(1) Myrdal, 1115
(2) Northrup, 157
(3) Spero and Harris, 265

1919 was a year of contest between the employee and the employer for the allegiance of the Negro stockyard worker. The workers were successful in organizing some of the Negro labor force in mixed unions. One result of this organizing success appeared in 1921 when Negroes on strike were faced with unorganized Negro strike breakers, recruited in Chicago or imported from the Southern States. The Negroes in the strike breaker category not only broke the strike but shattered the mixed union as well. "Packingtown" became a veritable armed camp during the strike. Physical clashes were not uncommon. A Negro strike breaker was murdered. Two thousand police were brought in by management to protect the strike breakers.

Only a handful of Negroes won permanent places. More won jobs in 1921 than had been given permanence after the 1894 and 1904 strikes, but the black worker won his place in the packing industry, not as a result of strike breaking, but as a result of the war time labor vacuum. The 18,000 Negro packers listed in the 1930 census made up 11.2 per cent of the labor force in the industry.

Spero and Harris in 1931 made what amounted to a prediction of the Negro worker's support of the CIO union in the organization of the packing industry.

> "With the Negro occupying the place he does in the packing industry, it would be difficult for the race leaders to condone strike breaking in the event of another industrial struggle. It could not bring the Negroes industrial opportunities which they have not already gained. It could

only help to undermine their established standards." (1)

The clothing industry was invaded by colored girls in 1917 when they aided Chicago employers in breaking a strike. 500 girls won permanent places. The practice of using Negro women to break strikes spread to other cities, notably New York and Philadelphia, during a series of strikes which extended through and beyond World War I.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union did not fight the Negro strike breakers in Chicago. They organized as many of them as possible and gave equal union rights and job protection. In Philadelphia's 1921 strike "pin and scissors fights" broke out between the white union girls and the colored strike breakers. The employers tried to capitalize on this racial split in the work force and gave full support to the strike breakers. Leadership in the Negro community supported the strike breakers against the union. The ILGWU redoubled its organizing efforts among the Negro girls and scrupulously maintained the equal rights policy. By persevering in this policy the ILGWU experienced a somewhat similar success to that enjoyed by the UMW in the coal fields. The Garment Workers won the Negro worker and the Negro community to the support of their union by continuing to practice non-discriminatory unionism in the face of very trying difficulties. The method used by the ILGWU and the UMW of welcoming Negro strike breakers into their unions was an early indication of the labor solidarity possible

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(1) Spero and Harris, 283

when organized labor refused to meet the strike breaker with force and violence. Myrdal's table based on the 1930 Census of the United States shows that the Negro clothing worker made up 4.4 per cent of the industry's labor force.

The railroad groups have not pursued the policy of the UAW and the ILGWU. The railroad workers have been exclusionist in most of their unions. The white workers have used pressure upon their employers and terror against the Negro worker to maintain job monopoly among Caucasian railroad unionists.

In 19[illegible] Negroes broke strike in St. Louis when the skilled shopmen went out. The Gould Lines thereafter included Negro shopmen on its payroll. The long strike of 1911-1914 among the shopmen on the Illinois Central was broken largely by Negro strike breakers. The Pullman Company, during the nation wide strike of their shopmen in 1922, offered jobs to Negro strike breakers. They responded by the thousands. Pullman has made it company policy to employ over 50 per cent Negro shop workers ever since. Negroes have even been upgraded to skilled jobs in Pullman shops, though very few have been given supervisory positions.

Although Northrup expects that later studies than his will show a loss of Negro railroad shop jobs during any future period of depression, due to unfair hiring and firing practices, he offers strike breaking as the principle explanation for the fact that Negro shopmen more than doubled their share of jobs between 1910 and 1930. He points out,

however, that even with the increase in the two decades between 1910 and 1930, only 7.1 per cent of the shop workers in 1930 were colored. (1)

The automobile industry offers an example of strike breaking by the Negro later in historical time than has been the case in other industries. Myrdal, Northrup, Weaver, and Spero and Harris include no mention of strike breaking by Negroes in the automobile industry prior to 1939. Ford and Dodge used the Negro to help break the 1939 and 1941 strikes. A few physical clashes followed, but Negro leadership and CIO union officials took prompt action to prevent racial violence.

This industry is not introduced as an example of the Negro worker's gains through strike breaking. It is mentioned as an illustration of Negro community leaders and CIO officers uniting to prevent outbreaks between white and black workers.

Northrup comments on the CIO attitude in the case of Negro strike breakers working for the Ford Company:

> "The UAW-CIO leaders had done their utmost to play down the racial angle in their campaign, and they appear to have succeeded fairly well. There was no attempt at retaliation, and no effort was made to secure the dismissal of Donald Marshall and Willis Ward. (Negro leaders in the personnel office of the Ford Company who opposed the CIO) Moreover, the bulk of the Negroes soon took kindly to the changed regime. The union contract gave them job security and increased wages instead of harming their position in the occupational hierarchy as many feared it would. Consequently, Negro participation in the River Rouge local (No. 600) was soon much better than that in most other UAW-

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(1) Northrup, 79

> CIO local unions. After No. 600 was granted local autonomy, Sheldon Tappes, a Negro, was elected recording secretary by the biggest margin given any of the candidates for office." (1)

The first Negroes to "invade" the Northern steel industry were from Richmond, Virginia. The Sons of Vulcan, on strike in Pittsburgh, were dominated in union policies by the puddlers. Negroes were excluded by constitutional provision. Negro puddlers, trained in the Southern mills, agreed to break the strike against the white exclusionist union. They came North in 1875.

During the remainder of the 'seventies and well into the 'eighties the exclusion policy of the white steelmen kept on failing to keep Negroes out of steel jobs. The Black Diamond Mill, the Clark Mill, and the Elba Works in Pittsburgh used Negro strike breakers. The Moorhead mill at Sharpsburg broke a strike with Negro steelmen from the South. An attempt by the white unionists to stop the use of Negro strike breakers by admitting them to a Jim Crow auxiliary at the source of much of the recruiting, Richmond, Virginia, lost most of its potential effectiveness in the policy of segregation.

Negroes were an important factor in the "big strike" of 1892 against Carnegie Steel, and again in 1901 against U.S. Steel.

The Great Steel Strike of 1919 was possibly the greatest single example of the successful use of Negroes in the role of strike breakers. Their numbers have been estimated

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(1) Northrup, 196-197

at a figure somewhere between 30,000 and 40,000, a fairly imposing strike breaking contingent.

The Interchurch World Movement's inquiry into the causes of the strike placed the use of Negro strike breakers second on the list in order of influence. First on the list was the size and strength of U.S. Steel.

> "The second cause was the successful use of strike breakers, principally negroes, by the steel companies, in conjunction with the abrogation of civil liberties. As a fighting proposition the strike was broken by the successful establishment of, first, the theory of 'resuming production' and second, the fact of it. Production was maintained without any interruption in some plants. On this basis the companies created a belief that it was being resumed everywhere. Then by the use of strike breakers they spread the actual resumptions and reinforced the theory. Negro workers were imported and were shifted from plant to plant; in Gary the negroes were marched ostentatiously through the streets; in Youngstown and near Pittsburgh they were smuggled in at night. 'Niggers did it', was a not uncommon remark among company officers." (1)

We note here that Chicago found no difficulty in recruiting Negro strike breakers locally. In fact a surplus of 500 recruits were sent on during a simultaneous strike in Cleveland. The Cleveland mills had been unable to secure local Negroes to act as strike breakers. The colored worker in the mills had joined the union and the colored community had been won to unionism. Again the difference between the divisiveness in Chicago and the solidarity in Cleveland is illustration of the value to the labor movement inherent in

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(1) Commission of Inquiry, Interchurch World Movement, The Steel Strike of 1919, 177-178

the united front.

Despite the fact that the Negro as strike breaker had proved to be a major factor in defeating the union steelmen, the employer gave him no more job opportunity than he had had before the strike. Nearly all those who had been imported from outside to break the strike lost their positions when the strike ended. Those who had been upgraded to replace whites on strike were demoted to their old places.

The Negro has been known to break strikes against the teamster, the waiter, and the rubber worker, as well as the longshoreman, miner, packer, clothing worker, railroad shopman, auto worker, and steelman. The only industry in our study in which any reluctance on the part of the Negro to act in the role of strike breaker was evident was in the two incidents in the coal fields.

That there were not more colored workers who refused to break strike was due to several attitude determinants. Among these may be mentioned the fact that hundreds of these men were brought to the big city factories fresh from the farm. They did not know what a union was, what a strike was, or what a factory was. Many of them had been told by whites in the South or by leaders of their own people the importance of giving allegiance to the employer and avoiding the white man's union. Even if the white union member had been given opportunity to dissuade the Negro from breaking his strike, it would have been difficult to educate him to trust the white laborer and unite with him against the white employer.

The Negro had been accustomed to trust his employer, not his fellow white worker. The latter was a competitor, who seemed to have all the advantages on his side. The former was a potential benefactor who could offer job security in spite of the Negro's color, if he worked for the wage offered, remained loyal to the boss, and kept out of the union.

Booker T. Washington is quoted on this matter by Spero and Harris:

> "The average Negro who comes to town does not understand the necessity or advantage of a labor organization which stands between him and his employer and aims apparently to make a monopoly of the opportunity for labor. He is more accustomed to work for persons than for wages. When he gets a job, therefore, he is inclined to consider the source from which it comes. He looks upon his employer as his friend and does not understand and does not like an organization which seems to be founded on a sort of impersonal enmity to the man by whom he is employed." (1)

The Negro's distrust of white labor dates back to the slave regime, as does his dependence upon the white master. When the Negro moved from slave to freeman, he kept the thought mold of looking to the boss for protection against the rival white workman.

Another factor accounting for the Negro's willingness to break strikes was the exclusionism of the white laborer. Even the hundred thousand skilled Negro mechanics, trained for the rental-profit they brought to their masters, were carefully shut out of many job opportunities as the unions became more powerful in the period following the Civil War.

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(1) Spero and Harris, 129

When the unions did admit Negroes, there was usually a Jim Crow auxiliary or a separate local. This led some to the conclusion that they were being organized simply to prevent them from breaking the white man's strikes. As a means to such an end, the second class membership in the labor union was not very attractive to the Negro.

Strike breaking seemed to the Negro to be the only way he could break out of agriculture , if he was one of the 9 in 10 Negroes relegated to that field by lack of any other training, education, or skill. The fact that some employers retained Negroes on their payrolls, after the strike had been broken, lent visible evidence to this belief and encouraged others to follow the pattern. This helps to explain why it was so difficult for the ILGWU and the UMW to succeed with their organization of the black worker, despite their unusual fairness of policy.

Another factor explaining the strike breaker phenomenon was the anti-union philosophy of the Negro community's leadership. Negro ministers, politicians, intellectuals, authors, and journalists counseled the Negro worker to stand by the employer and beware of the union. Negro legislators voted anti-labor. Negro ministers recruited strike breakers from their congregations. Social service agencies, such as the Urban Leagues in the big cities, furnished hundreds of their people to the employer who needed strike breakers.

Almost from the beginning of Negro freedom there were Negro leaders and workers, on the other side, however, who

believed in labor solidarity. Reverend Sella Martin, George Downing, and Wesley Howard in the 'sixties and 'seventies urged such unity to make possible the political action they felt was essential to the uplift of the Negro-American.

The black worker, too, when he joined the ILGWU, the UMW, the Stock Yards' Janitors, or the Hod Carriers' Unions, where he received very nearly equal treatment, job protection, and higher wages, changed somewhat in his attitude toward unionism.

The employer, when he did not keep his promises, made in the heat of strong desire to break the strike, tended to alienate the Negro worker who didn't get the potential job opportunity. In steel, on the railroads, and in other industries employers insisted that they only wanted the unorganized Negro. If labor organization should succeed in spite of employer attempts to break the unions, then the employer would insist upon white organized labor. Wage differentials were evidence of the regard in which the black worker was often held by the white employer. The lack of adequate housing conditions and sanitation for the comfort of Negro strike breakers sometimes left resentment in the heart of the black worker. The Armour stockyard housing unit for the imported Negroes in the 1904 strike was said to be so bad that Armour himself in a visit to the yards exclaimed at the odor emanating from the units, "My God, I can't stand that!" (1)

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(1) Spero and Harris, 267

The attitude of the officials of the steel companies after the 1919 strike was partially expressed in their comments, "Niggers did it", or, "The nigger saved the day for us". The use of the derogatory term in place of the correct term, Negro, indicates that the gratitude expressed was not primarily concerned with the strike breaker but with the breaking of the strike.

Employers who took such attitudes and employers who did not retain Negro strike breakers in their employ undid some of the influence of the other type employer who kept his word and made Negro employment part of his policy. Ford and Firestone, examples of this latter type, opposed the unions for years with success, one reason being the loyalty of the Negro worker to these companies.

White unionists were not all exclusionist, either, and not all of them favored violence against Negro strike breakers. Those who did not helped to undo the divisive resentments caused by the anti-Negro unionist.

The Chicago Commission found such a white worker in its 1922 inquiry.

> "Some day the white worker is going to coax the black man to line up with him; all that he needs is a crusader's heart and a genuine desire to make the black man and himself free, and when he succeeds, there won't be, in the economic field at least, the differences which now exist, due to this pitting of one race against the other and both being walloped by the action." (1)

Major organizations in the labor movement, using the

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(1) Chicago Commission, Negro in Chicago, 435

"one big union" concept of industrial organization, have sought to promote union equality for the white and black worker. The Knights of Labor and the International Workers of the World, lineal precedessors of the CIO, attempted to promote such equality. The Negro publication, Crisis, in February, 1913 described the IWW's work in the organization of the Southern lumber industry.

> "It is a glorious sight to see, the miracle that has happened here in Dixie. This coming true of the impossible--this union of workers regardless of color, creed, or nationality. To hear the Americans saying 'You can starve us but you cannot whip us'; the Negroes crying, 'You can fence us in, but you cannot make us scab'; the Italians singing the Marseillaise, and the Mexicans shouting vivas for the Brotherhood. Never did the Santa Fe Railroad, the Southern Lumber Operators' Association and the American Lumber Company expect to see such complete and defiant solidarity." (1)

Thirty years later the degree of unity achieved by the white and black worker led a devoted friend of the Negro-American to observe:

> "The Negro's greatest advance in the last decade has been in the trade union movement, which is coming to recognize that its strength is dependent upon the inclusion of all workers in its ranks. The former policy of excluding Negroes from unions meant a vast force of workers who could be hired at lower wages, could be used as strike breakers, and were therefore a club held over the heads of white labor to prevent attempts toward better conditions." (2)

During this "last decade", the CIO was organizing steel, auto, packing, rubber, and textiles. The NLRB and the Wagner Act had given legal standing to collective bargaining. And

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(1) Spero and Harris, 332
(2) Edwin R. Embree, Brown Americans, 122

the industrial unionism of the CIO was bringing the Negro into the labor movement in significant numbers. The AFL, meanwhile, was not idle. The competition of the CIO was stimulating. The inclusiveness of the CIO led to some relaxation of color bars in AFL organizing. During the decade alluded to by Embree Negro trade union membership increased from 90,000 to over a million, according to Dr. Robert Weaver, Harvard's first Negro Ph D, who said of this same period:

> "During the New Deal labor growth and development...the new industrial unions of the North were welcoming large numbers of Negroes; this, in turn, was offering the basis for real understanding between Negro and white workers; it was so conditioning the Negro worker and the community from which he came that the danger of the Negro becoming a strike breaker again was greatly reduced." (1)

Some of the Caucasian trade union leaders and rank and file members have partially learned the lesson that the Negro-American broke strike because he had not been asked to "play on the same team". This has been a factor in his enlistment in such numbers to join this "team".

Negro leadership and rank and file workers have realized that in many fields strike breaking by Negroes would be hurting other Negroes who were out on strike, attempting to improve conditions, wages, hours, and security. As the local Executive Secretary of the NAACP remarked to the writer during a discussion of strike breaking, "We look upon that as part of the past."

Whether a major depression with wholesale job lay-offs

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(1) Robert Weaver, Negro Labor, 15

would put so many Negro workers out of employment and make possible an employer drive against the labor unions, which might again include the use of the Negro as a strike breaker, is beyond our present ken. Certainly Weaver's careful statement about the danger of the Negro being so used having been "greatly reduced" is hardly overstatement.

The Negro-American as a strike breaker has significance for our study because it has had a part in shaping the attitudes of the white worker, the black worker, Negro leadership, and white management toward the relationships of the Negro with the labor movement. It is an historical fact, a part of the story of the American trade union movement, which has been included in every accurate comprehensive history of that movement. But it is of more significance for our study because it has been one road by which the Negro has in some degree escaped from the limitations placed upon him by his lack of preparation during slavery for anything out agriculture and domestic service. Strike breaking, whatever may be said against it, and that would not be an insignificant research task in itself, has helped to give the black worker an entree to industry and to the unions, which seemed, at the time, to be available to him in no other way. It has given him jobs and union membership among the longshoremen, miners, rubber, steel, and auto workers. It was divisive at the outset, but its results have helped, in the long run, to bring about greater union solidarity.

CHAPTER II

THE LABOR VACUUM

In Chapter One we have watched the Negro-American as he trod the rather rough road of the strike breaker to gain a foothold in industry. We see him at the close of this chapter securing additional advantage as he is drawn into the labor vacuum. He comes at the close of the chapter because he is chronologically preceded by other "gap-fillers", the Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, and Filipinos. We discuss the Chinese in some detail as illustrative of the general operation of the labor vacuum theory, touching more lightly on the Japanese, Mexicans, and Filipinos, and dealing again in some detail with the central figure in our Thesis, the Negro-American.

As we lay the groundwork for the application of the labor vacuum theory and its functional operation in the San Francisco Bay Area, we may well look across the continent to the opposite coast and remind ourselves that 350 years ago the entire area now occupied by the 48 United States was in terms of "civilized" man a complete labor vacuum. In the white man's vocabulary it was virgin, unexplored, undeveloped, unexploited territory. Wave after wave of immigrants poured into this vast vacuum for 250 years, but important parts were still empty, among them the region destined to become the State of California. Expansion had gradually filled in the South and Middle West, but prior to 1840 California was still the "wide open West".

More strictly speaking the labor vacuum theory is bound up with the gradual rise on the economic ladder of succeeding

waves of immigrants, leaving at the bottom of this ladder the continual demand for cheap labor. As the Anglo-Saxon took over the higher occupational levels in early American History, the Irishman and the German moved into the labor vacuum at the bottom level of job opportunity. Irish and German were succeeded by the Southern European in turn moving in at the bottom. As the latter moved upward here on the West Coast, the vacuum called the colored laborer of Asia to his initial foothold on the bottom rung of the heretofore Caucasian economic ladder. The Negro-American's chance was delayed until the period of World War I, his greatest California opportunity coming, in fact, in World War II.

The labor vacuum theory continues to operate despite limitation or exclusion of certain immigrants, and is usually strong enough to attract a new source of supply when the old one is cut off by legal restrictions. Brown and Roucek illustrate the theory with a graph showing the influx of Chinese laborers filling the vacuum in California following the gold rush when Caucasians wanted cheap labor to do the less desirable jobs while they sought quick fortunes in mining or speculation or other more lucrative pursuits. Exclusion of the Chinese in 1882-1884 stopped this particular group of immigrants, but it did not stop the operation of the labor vacuum theory, because there was still a labor vacuum. The Brown-Roucek chart shows how the Japanese moved in to fill it after the Chinese were excluded. Their restriction by the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, while

actually more nominal than real, led employers to import Mexicans in anticipation of the labor void. The complete exclusion of the Japanese in 1924 brought a wave of Filipinos and an even bigger wave of additional Mexicans to fill the vacuum which new Japanese were no longer permitted to fill. (1)

A large labor vacuum seems to reduce color hatred to a minimum, but when the local market seems to be temporarily flooded or when a period of depression comes, color hatred seems to go up as the economic conditions go down. This has led to the use of the term, "race-relations-cycle" in the San Francisco Bay Area where each new group has been sucked into the labor vacuum during a period of labor scarcity for the poorer paying jobs. Each group in turn has become the target for color hatred whenever the labor scarcity was less important to the surface observer. We watch these cycles work out in specific detail in the case of the Chinese in California.

Those screen fans who saw the film version of Pearl Buck's prize winning novel, The Good Earth, were exposed to a sympathetic portrayal by two of our most talented stars, Paul Muni and Luise Rainer, of the Chinese passion for labor, termed by Mary Coolidge, "the most conspicuous characteristic of the Chinese".

> "The common laborer combines with this habitual industry patience, docility, accuracy, and temperance. Though he lacks inventiveness and initiative, he has remarkable powers of imitation. He will take low

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(1) Brown and Roucek, Our Racial and National Minorities, 477

> wages and contrive always to live within them: but never any lower than is necessary to keep in work, and at the first opportunity he will demand higher. In fact, he is remarkably keen in bargaining for his labor and always ambitious to rise from the laboring or "coolie" class into the farming or merchant class." (1)

The Chinese laborer's "remarkable powers of imitation" may account for his industrial adaptability surpassing that of the European peasant coming to America's shores in the middle of the nineteenth century. Farming, fishing, and unskilled labor may have been his main work at home, but he was quick to pick up the knack of being a good laundryman, cook, miner, operative, or merchant in the United States.

The competition in his native land and the democratic spirit there which issued in the guild system, a parallel to the Westerner's trade union, gave the Canton Chinese partial preparation for the American scene. The Chinese guilds despised "scabs" just as American trade unions have. The practical fellowship of the two groups also had in common the giving of aid to members of the brotherhood in case of sickness or accident and the payment of some insurance benefit to the family in case of a member's death.

Democracy was not limited to guild membership, either, for despite the centralized autocracy at the top level of Chinese government, the villager's local government was genuine democracy. The "log-cabin-to-white-house" dream in American democracy may be said to be paralleled by the "poor-boy-to-prime-minister" dream in Chinese democracy.

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(1) Mary R. Coolidge, Chinese Immigration, 12

The Chinese, in fact, with their passion for labor, love of the "good earth", patience, docility, accuracy, and temperance, their village democracy and guild organization, were not particularly dissatisfied with their lot. Compared to the nations of Europe China was not an emigrating nation. Poole, Boulger, and Williams have all pointed out that what migration did take place was limited to other areas of Asia. (1) Even a dense population and great poverty were not sufficient to burst the restraints of inertia, patriotism, law, religion, and the ties of family.

In the summer of 1850, however, the inhabitants of Southeastern China were involved in the great Taiping rebellion. War, devastation, famine, and looting, with their consequent paralysis of industry and trade, unemployment, poverty, and ruin, coincided with the arrival of news from California of gold to be mined and high wages to be earned in every branch of labor. In ten years the labor vacuum drew 25,000 Chinese laborers to the "Golden Mountain". During the three decades of free immigration which followed the original contingent was swelled to 280,000. Most of them came intent upon meeting a temporary economic crisis, paying their debts, getting a stake, and returning to China. Over 150,000 did just that.

They were welcomed at first. The Caucasian "Forty-Niner" came to California seeking gold. He was not interested in

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(1) Samuel Wells Williams, Chinese Immigration, Volume II, 278; Demetrius Carlos de Kavanaugh Boulger, History of China, Volume II, 318; S. Lane Poole, The Life of Sir Harry Parkes, Volume I, 176

laundering, cooking, carpentering, or manual labor, if he could possibly escape it. The Chinese immigrant fit nicely into his picture and the labor vacuum pushed racial antagonism into the background. Work attracting those least capable of organizing for self protection and collective bargaining naturally attracted the Chinese. Building railroads, draining swamps, clearing farmlands, tilling the soil, harvesting the crops, taking apart old ships for salvage material, were either necessary or highly desirable of achievement, but the Caucasian had not time for them. Even when the Chinese worked the mines he took the worn out diggings deserted by the Caucasians and worked them for the "leavings". Domestic service, truck gardening, fishing, fruit picking, chicken raising, peanut growning, wood cutting, stubble clearing, and rag picking, scorned by Caucasians, were assumed willingly by the Chinese. (1)

The Daily Alta California on May 12, 1852 expressed this welcome:

> "Quite a large number of the Celestials have arrived among us of late, enticed thither by the golden romance that has filled the world. Scarcely a ship arrives that does not bring an increase to this worthy integer of our population. The China boys will yet vote at the same polls, study at the same schools and bow at the same altar as our own countrymen."

Praised for cleanliness, dependability, patience, hard work, adaptability, and a genius for not making trouble, the Chinese seemed to be just about indispensable to the rapidly

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(1) Sacramento Union, January 17, 1859, February 4, 1859

expanding commonwealth of Golden California. Even the strange customs that set them off from the Caucasian were at first a source of interest and pride to the welcoming whites. (1) Patriotism and civic mindedness were among the favorable traits extolled by orators and journalists in the initial period of welcome. Chinese merchants gave liberally to the vigilante fund for the suppression of lawless elements in the population. Chinese contingents repeatedly paraded with patriotic Caucasian-Americans on such occasions as George Washington's Birthday, Independence Day, and California's admission to the Union. As Justice Nathaniel Bennett said in a welcoming speech to the Chinese and other foreigners participating in the celebration of Statehood:

> "Born and reared under different Governments and speaking different tongues, we nevertheless meet here to-day as brothers...You stand among us in all respects as equals...Henceforth we have one country, one hope, one destiny." (2)

Lucile Eaves prints the following statement from a spokesman for the Chinese, who, in the unfriendly period of persecution, recalls the earlier period of welcome:

> "We remember the time when the report went abroad of the great excellence of your honorable state and its inhabitants. The people of the Flowery Land were received like guests...In consequence, with the hope and desire of enjoying a residence where the customs were so admirable and just, we came. In those early times we were greeted with favor. Each treated the other with politeness. From far and near we came, and were pleased. Days and months but added to our satis-

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(1) Franklin Tuthill, History of California, 368
(2) Daily Alta California, October 31, 1850

faction. The ships gathered like clouds." (1)

Franchise for the Chinese, non-segregated schools, non-segregated churches, and a general status approaching equality in many areas of political and social life seemed at first to be assured and unopposed. Race hate, however, was only being subordinated temporarily to the industrial, social, and personal need of the Caucasian. With the Chinese as "gap-filler" on the lower rungs of economy's ladder, the Caucasian could spend his time on the more remunerative level of mining and speculating. Yet it was in this very area, among the Caucasians in the mines, that the first rumblings of reaction were heard. This is less surprising when we consider that prior to the persecution of the Chinese by the California miners, color prejudice had been expressed against Mexicans, Peruvians, Chilenos, Indians, Kanakas, Hawaiians, Italians, Spaniards, and Frenchmen. (2)

These groups have not been given chronological priority on our labor vacuum list because they were not filling the vacuum. They were competing, quite often successfully, at the top economic level with the native "whites", and were driven out for this very competition and success on the rather meaningless slogan of "California for Americans". This same slogan was transferred to the attack upon the Chinese. The miners wanted to save all the gold for the "Americans", meaning certain favored North European strains,

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(1) Lucile Eaves, _A History of California Labor Legislation_, lo
(2) The lumping together of all these groups as targets of "color prejudice" was, of course, an inaccurate classification by the relatively uneducated miners.

and they complained about the sending of gold back to China. They also expressed what was undoubtedly a genuine fear, a possible flood of cheap labor from China.

While the orators and editors, city officials and religious leaders were sounding the praises of the indispensable Chinese, offering equality, and handing them religious tracts in the public square of San Francisco, the miners began a counter-offensive which ultimately carried with it most of the orators, editors, politicians, and church members. (1)

Abundant material in Bancroft Library at the University of California deals with the anti-Chinese reaction which resulted in a propaganda campaign, a number of laws against the Chinese later declared unconstitutional, physical violence, and widespread persecution. The miners were the spearhead of an attack which found labor presenting a consistently united front against the Chinese. Workingmen's conventions repeatedly passed resolutions demanding legislative action against the Asiatics. Anti-coolie clubs were formed in the twelve labor districts of San Francisco and were populous andactive for the three decades leading up to the exclusion laws of 1882 and 1884. Sand-lot orators like Knight and Kearney (who is said to have concluded his speeches with "The Chinese must go!") were hailed by organized labor as "friends of freedom" and each was called "a John Brown in this, the second irrepressible conflict". (2) Parades and demonstrations were

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(1) Coolidge quotes Henry Ward Beecher (p 445):
"We have clubbed them, stoned them, burned their houses, and murdered some of them; yet they refuse to be converted. I do not know any way, except to blow them up with nitro-glycerine, if we are ever to get them to Heaven."

(2) Lucile Eaves, 31

carried out by organized labor to impress the public with "the yellow peril", and to demand punitive legislation. The friendly adjectives were no longer used. Their strange queues, native dress, heathen religion, opium smoking, gambling dens, and unusual language were ridiculed and urged as evidence of non-assimilability. It was claimed that they were chiefly recruited from the coolie and criminal classes and that the few women among them were prostitutes. Senator Roach warned that China was preparing to send a half million criminals as contract laborers to California (over five times the entire population of the state at the time, 1852), exposing us to a pestilence as foul as leprosy or the black plague. (1) Robert Wolter looked upon them as an entering wedge for military conquest, predicting an 1899 invasion which would successfully capture California and Oregon, the author being the lone survivor of a future massacre of the marine garrison defending Alcatraz Island. (2)

The commonest attack, however, pointed at the alleged "coolie" labor menace, competition at a wage so low that whites simply could not exist on the wages paid the Chinese. As Whitney put it:

> "This labor was found in the Chinese immigrants, who, without families, and used in their own country to the smallest wages, could be obtained in unlimited number at rates lower than those necessary for the bare sustenance of white workingmen. The conflict between these two forms of civilization began early. It has extended to every branch of industry, and the results thus far have been detrimental in the

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(1) Coolidge, 31
(2) Robert Wolter, A Short and Truthful History of the Taking of California and Oregon by the Chinese in the Year A.D. 1899

> extreme to that which we are accustomed to consider the highest form of Caucasian society. The Chinese have invaded every department of industry, and Chinese executive ability has marshalled that labor into the most effective opposition to the industrial classes of the whites. Everywhere, except among the wealthy, the white has gone to the wall in the competition with the Asiatic." (1)

It was also pointed out that the menace of a flood of cheap labor from the inexhaustible hordes of China would deter the more desirable Northern European white strains from migration to California. It was stressed, too, that the Chinese were "infinitely inferior" to Negroes and Indians. Frank M. Pixley, representing San Francisco before an 1876 Congressional Committee, said:

> "The Chinese are inferior to any race God ever made... I think there are none so low...Their people have got the perfection of crimes of 4,000 years... The Divine Wisdom has said that He would divide this country and the world as a heritage of five great families; that to the Blacks he would give Africa; to the Red Man He would give America; and Asia He would give to the Yellow races. He inspired us with the determination, not only to have prepared our own inheritance, but to have stolen from the Red Man, America; and it is now settled that the Saxon, American or European groups of families, the White Race, is to have the inheritance of Europe and America and that the Yellow races are to be confined to what the Almighty originally gave them; and as they are not a favored people, they are not to be permitted to steal from us what we have robbed the American savage of...I believe that the Chinese have no souls to save, and if they have, they are not worth the saving." (2)

The three decades from 1852-1882 were not unrelieved in this area of anti-Chinese agitation, however. In fact, economic conditions seemed to bear out to a noticeable degree

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(1) James A. Whitney, The Chinese and the Chinese Question, 49-50
(2) Coolidge, 96

the theory of the labor vacuum, persecution rising and falling in intensity with the rise and fall of the economic thermometer.

Prior to 1852 there had been no agitation. The Chinese had felt a measure of social welcome along with their economic welcome. This year marks a definite turning point for several reasons. The hatred vented upon the "colored" French and Spaniards, who by 1852 had largely been driven out of the mines, now turned upon the Asiatic. This time it was not because of competition in the mines, but because of color. It seems almost as though a "scapegoat vacuum" had been created by the departure of the French and Spanish miners, which drew the Chinese into the empty space. A second factor was the reversal of Governor Bigler's pro-Chinese position. Running for re-election in 1852 his anti-Chinese plank won support from the miners. After re-election he remained anti-Chinese in his political practices. A third factor, closely tied to the second, was the change of editors on the _Daily Alta California_, taking the paper into the Bigler political camp. This replaced a pro-Chinese editor with an anti-Chinese writer. A fourth factor explaining the change of attitude was the fact that the number of entering Chinese during 1850-1852 was sufficient to give some basis to expressed fear of an inundation of Asiatic labor. As the San Franciscan watched successive boatloads of new arrivals, it must be said in fairness to the exclusionist that he had no way of knowing just how many were coming. A fifth factor was the rise of the Know-Nothing Party, proposing to discourage immigration,

the year 1852 being the year from which "Know-nothingism" actually dates. Factor six, a decline in the returns from placer mining set in during this peak year of yield, which was to make itself felt in the economic area of conflict. A seventh factor was the discovery of gold in Australia the previous year. By 1852 Melbourne was receiving 2000 immigrants a week, thus drawing off some of the Caucasian migration which might have gone to California. Prices, rents, and values fell. San Francisco was filled with unemployed who had become accustomed to high wages and good profits, and who were not anxious to drop down to the going manual labor wage, even though times were hard for them. The falling values and the massing of the unemployed in San Francisco coincided with a corrupt municipal officialdom, culminating in a reign of terror with the Chinese as scapegoats for the evils of the times.

It would seem from the more objective vantage point of a century later that the Chinese were the victims rather than the causes of economic dislocation. It seems also that the same man who saw in "John Chinaman" the source of all his troubles looked with scorn upon "John's" type of work and rate of pay. The jobs filled by the Orientals were those which the Occidentals had not wanted before the Chinese came, had been happy to see the Chinese take upon their arrival, had not tried to take away from the Chinese during this economic lull, and did not take when the immigration fell from 1852's 20,000 to 1853's 4,470, with an exodus of 4,000 returning to China in the same year. (1)

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(1) Coolidge, 33, 34, 38, 39, 62

With this drop in arrivals and an average annual gain of only 3,500 during 1853, 1854, and 1855, contrasted with 1852's 20,000 newcomers, the fear of inundation partially subsided. The pendulum began to swing the other way, in fact. Merchants in the mining counties of Calaveras, El Dorado, Mariposa, and Sierra petitioned the Legislature to reduce the head tax on the Chinese miners, since it was driving them out and ruining Caucasian business. Employers in Monterey and San Francisco demanded that Chinese immigration be stimulated not curtailed. They declared themselves unable to secure white labor in sufficient quantity. Further, they emphasized the fact that the Chinese consumer had been their good customer. The farmer added his voice to the demand for Chinese workers. There was a call for the Asiatic to drain the swamp lands for cultivation and to make possible the proposed cotton and silk production in the State. (1) Enough of the law abiding citizenry became aroused over the terrorism and hoodlumism in San Francisco to restore order with a Vigilance Committee in 1856. The Chinese contributed financially to committee expenses, receiving official public thanks and reaping some psychological benefit from this alignment with the forces of law and order against the terrorists and hoodlums. Further, local issues were somewhat minimized in the midst of the divisive national problem of slavery and the heated dissensions preceding the Civil War. Division in

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(1) William Speer, *An Humble Plea in Behalf of the Immigrants from the Empire of China to this State*; Eaves, 115

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California culminated in the Pico Law, with provisions to split California into Northern and Southern sections over the slavery issue. The law was passed by the Legislature and approved by the Governor on April 18, 1859, but was refused sanction by the U.S. Congress. (1) An economic factor operating in favor of the Chinese in this same year was the discovery of the Comstock Lode. This drew many of the discontented unemployed back to the mines in search of the adventure and wealth they had lost for a time. The settlement of a number of land titles, too, gave agriculture a boost and helped to stabilize economic conditions. In the political arena the victory of Republican Governor Stanford relieved the Chinese of some measure of political persecution, as the new government was less pronounced in its anti-Chinese position than its Democratic predecessor. The Legislature issued a favorable report from an investigating committee which also played some part in alleviating persecution of the Chinese.

> "They stated that there were about 50,000 Chinese in the State who had contributed not less than fourteen millions of dollars in Customs duties, fares, freights, taxes and purchase of American products and property, toward the business of the community. They pointed out that many lines of industry carried on by white men were indebted to Chinese patronage for their recompense and that the Chinese had received in exchange little more than the privilege of mining placers and doing work which white men scorned. They found no competition except with European servants in a few cities, and they denied that the Chinese were Contract Coolies and inordinately immoral and criminal. They stated in plain terms that there had been a wholesale system of wrong and

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(1) Davis McEntire, *An Economic and Social Study of Population Movements in California, 1850-1944*

> outrage practised upon them; and urged the wisdom of preserving friendly trade relations with China and the unwisdom of driving from the State a class of foreigners so peaceful, industrious and useful." (1)

The pendulum of pro and con in relation to the Chinese has swung now from the first period of favor, 1850-1852, to the first period of reaction, 1852-1856, then part way back again in the second period of favor, 1856-1862, this latter year marking the beginning of the swing back to a second period of reaction. (2)

The panic of 1862 brought high interest rates, insecure capital, and a return to San Francisco of the discontented unemployed. Coupled with serious droughts and a lack of coal, iron, and cotton, which delayed the infant manufacturing efforts and prevented them from alleviating the distress, it seemed that the Chinese were due for another "scapegoat" experience. Before the pendulum could get fairly started on its swing toward reaction, however, two factors, illustrating the labor vacuum theory, held it in check. The first factor was the general labor shortage due to the Civil War, making the Chinese a welcome necessity again. The second and paramount factor, however, was the building of the railroads. When the Central Pacific cavassed the Caucasian labor market, even in this period of the financial panic, the maximum force available seemed to be about one thousand men. This was just a quarter of the labor force needed. By 1864 the remaining three thousand had been recruited from the ranks of the Chinese.

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(1) Coolidge, 62

(2) These periods are only relatively classifiable in categories of "favor" and "reaction". There is no sharp line between periods and there are those who were consistently pro or con throughout the three decades.

[illegible]

the products of [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and cotton, which [illegible]

[illegible] which the [illegible]

[illegible] however, [illegible]

[illegible] the General [illegible] revealed the [illegible]

[illegible]

When the railroads in 1865 asked for 5000 additional workers and 600 teams, offering high wages and steady employment, the whites refused to leave the lucrative areas of mining and farming. Again the Chinese filled the vacuum. When the Central Pacific was completed in 1869, of the 10,000 men employed 9000 were Chinese. Governor Stanford claimed that the roads could not have been built without them, which is equivalent for our study to saying that they filled a labor vacuum. Others had been needed to keep on doing the "bottom jobs" on the economic ladder, and an additional 30,000 Chinese were drawn into this section of the vacuum from 1855-1869. (1)

The opportunities on the railroads drew many more Chinese toward the closing years of construction than during the earlier years, 11,000 coming in 1868 and 15,000 coming in 1869, compared to the annual average of 2700 for the three earlier years, 1864, 1865, and 1866. Thousands arrived at the "eleventh hour", working a short time on the roads before completion of the line rendered them jobless. In fact, the influx from China carried over to 1870, another 10,000 coming after the job was finished. The Burlingame Treaty of 1868 was favorable to Chinese immigration, also, and facilitated the movement of greater numbers at the close of this decade. Industrial development was a third factor in stimulating the Asiatic immigration, but the railroads were the chief factor. (2) This is seen, perhaps even more clearly after their completion, which was a major factor in the swing of

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(1) Coolidge, 498
(2) Eaves, 134

the pendulum toward reaction, delayed from 1862's arrested beginning to the actual swing of the 'seventies. There would have been an economic problem in 1870 had there been nothing more to worry about than the laying off of 10,000 Chinese and 2,500 Caucasians when the roads were completed. These thousands hit the labor market practically simultaneously. But this was not all. The change from steamship to rail threw many more out of jobs. Lands did not rise in value, as had been expected upon completion of the road. The $18.75 per capita tax was the highest in the nation. Public graft on a large scale added to the burden of taxation and to the general unrest and insecurity. Speculators held some of the good farm lands at prices prohibitive to the prospective settler. The panic of 1873 drove hundreds of migrants into California from the East. Eastern capitalists, however, fearing the general instability of the California market, did not invest capital rapidly enough to prepare industrial opportunities for their migrating fellow-Easterners. And once again the Chinese was made the scapegoat for the economic dislocation of the time. As we have already remarked, the Chinese could hardly be made responsible for the economic cycles, civic corruption, taxes, speculators, monopolies, or a financial panic in the distant East. He was still doing, as he had been doing for two decades, the work the whites did not want, taking over the "mined out" placers, paying his debts and taxes, and spending his share of consumer purchasing power in the general business market. (1)

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(1) Eaves, 135, 118, 27

Organized labor, politicians, the press, and the unemployed Caucasians, nevertheless, attacked the Chinese as the cause of the financial troubles of the 'seventies. The number of Chinese was exaggerated, even to twice the correct figure, for purposes of propaganda on the cheap labor menace. It was claimed that they imported prostitutes and slave laborers, that there were ten thousand Chinese criminals in San Francisco alone, gamblers, dope-addicts, blackmailers, and men of "abandoned and violent characters". The Workingmen's Party denounced them as unassimilable barbarians responsible for white unemployment. (1)

The Kearney agitators warned that pro-Chinese sentiment among organized labor's membership would be met with lynching. Labor agitators demanded the expulsion of the Chinese with steel and torch, proposed cutting off their queues, compelling the employers of Chinese to pay taxes on them to be used to return them to China, and boycotting Chinese made goods.

Yet, even in the bitter 'seventies, the temporary prosperity in 1874-1875, due in part to the opening of the Consolidated Virginia Mines and an abundant wheat harvest, absorbed the surplus California Caucasians and the newly arrived Eastern Caucasians, and persecution died down somewhat while this temporary prosperity lasted. It returned in 1876 when the worst drought in twenty-five years ruined the wheat crop and killed thousands of cattle on the ranges, while the gold output declined to one third the 1869 yield. A real estate slump,

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(1) H.J. West, The Chinese Invasion, 73; Workingmen's Party Pamphlet, Chinatown Declared a Nuisance; T.V. Powderly, Thirty Years of Labor, 1859-1889, 210-211; Daily Alta California, March 28, 1876 and April 6, 1876

tourist slump, and a fruit crop failure added to the difficulty.

The three decades of hostility toward the Chinese, rising and falling with the economic thermometer, or swinging back and forth with the economic pendulum, finally culminated in the 1882 Exclusion Act. Following this act, although 30,000 more Chinese came into the State in 1882 than departed, the census shows a steady decrease in the Chinese population of California. In round numbers 1890 showed 72,000 in the State. By 1900 the dispersal to other states and the return to China left us with 46,000. In 1910 the figure was down to 36,000. In 1920 their number had declined to 29,000. (1)

After the exclusionists had achieved their purpose and the Chinese population began to disperse and decline, what reactions are recorded for us in the closing decades of the century and in the opening years of the next century?

An analysis of the 1876 Congressional Committee Report, though prepared and written with an obvious anti-Chinese bias, nevertheless makes clear that on the railroads and farms the testimony was practically unanimous that white labor was scarce, unreliable, priced above the Eastern standard, and *never obtainable in sufficient quantity*. (2) In laundry work and domestic service women were scarce and Caucasian men were not interested, so there was no argument about competition here. In the placers the Chinese did have a labor monopoly, but with the two or three dollars per day yield it was not contested by the Caucasian. In nineteen trades, outside of

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(1) Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, *Population, Second Series, California,* page 10: also *Characteristics of Non-White Population by Race*, page 5

(2) Coolidge, 101 (Italics ours)

laundering, domestic service, and mining, there were a total of 600 Chinese employed jointly with more than 2000 whites, and in none of these were there as many as one hundred Chinese employed. In the remaining four trades reported in the investigation, boots and shoes, cigars, jute, and woolens, the competition was said to be chiefly with women and girls, the latter outnumbered two to one by Caucasian men, seldom remaining long unmarried. In the jute and woolen industries the employers testified that they could not have been started had they been forced to rely on either male whites, who were practically unobtainable, or female whites, who were neither present in sufficient numbers nor permanent enough, because of the demand for wives in the State. In one trade, cigar making, there had been an influx of Eastern Caucasian laborers due to slack trade there, and there were legitimate complaints registered of lack of employment for these newcomers. The labor force was already filled with Chinese men and Caucasian women and girls in the ratio of slightly more than 16-2 in favor of the Chinese. Payroll figures indicated that the going wage in California was higher than the going wage in the North, East, or South. The testimony, in terms of thousands, showed that of the 30,000 Chinese in San Francisco less than 10,000 were engaged in occupations in which any competition was claimed. 20,000 others were employed in occupations in which there was plenty of room for all kinds of labor at the highest going wage in the nation. The witnesses who gave testimony, pro-Chinese, anti-Chinese, or neutral, offered no facts to support the claim of monopoly cheap labor reducing

whites to starvation wages or crowding them out of employment. The jobs the Chinese held were not the jobs the Caucasians wanted, even in the extremity of unemployment. Without the Chinese the railroads would not have been built when they were built. Factories would not have opened as soon as they did. With the labor vacuum unfilled many drudgery assignments would have been left undone or would have been partially done by whites who begrudged the time taken from mining or some other more remunerative pursuit. They not only released the whites to perform the more desirable work, but they themselves constituted consumer purchasing power which put millions of dollars of wages and profits in Caucasian pockets. (1) The California historian, Tuthill, in fact, insists that the purchasing power of the Chinese saved several counties from going bankrupt during crucial periods of economic stress. (2) The Chinese retained purchasing power through bad times because he continued to work at the same unpopular jobs on which he was busy in peace time, while the Caucasian was not content to move down the economic scale and his unemployment cut his purchasing power accordingly. Mrs. Coolidge says:

> "Before the Kearney period there was great scarcity of labor in almost every line, but between 1876 and 1880 the unemployed became conspicuous in the towns and cities of California. Yet even at this time, while workingmen were crying out against monopoly and the Chinese, the Municipalities were paying two dollars a day of eight hours for common

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(1) J.W. Jenks and W.J. Lauck, *Immigration Problem*, 232-234; R.D. McKenzie, *Oriental Exclusion*, 12; Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, 12-15; West, 73; Powderly, 219-220; Eaves, 184; *Sacramento Union*, January 17, 1859 and February 5, 1859; Coolidge, 338,342, 432

(2) Franklin Tuthill, *History of California*

> labor, the farmers were paying a dollar a day and board even in winter, and the manufacturers were paying more than their Eastern competitors and earning no dividends. In 1878 hundreds of single men loafed in San Francisco refusing to work at less than the high rates which they considered 'white man's wages'--refusing even to accept relief work in the city because the wages were only a dollar a day--and the newspapers catered to them by talking of grinding men to starvation wages." (1)

Her footnote to this quotation reads:

> "The Central Pacific railway in 1878 offered work at filling in land to 1000 men at $1.00 per day, cash daily, with tools furnished; and a private fund was raised to give the unemployed work in the Park of San Francisco, but only a very few men would take it. See Bulletin and Alta of 1878." (2)

A mid-western newspaper man, Beadle of the Cincinnati Commercial, wrote that more than 80% of the Chinese in California were doing work which white men would not do at all. Contrary to organized labor's claim that there were too many Asiatic laborers on the market, he declared that California needed and could employ a quarter million Chinese without displacing a single white. The labor vacuum left under the white labor ceiling was indebted to the Chinese for a substantial fill-in, but the vacuum was only partially filled. Vast tracts of land remained untilled and farmers complained of the lack of farm-hands on the land already under cultivation. Contracting engineers on construction works throughout the State in the mines and mountains complained of the labor shortage. Even in San Francisco the builders could not find enough workmen. There seemed to be an unfillable vacuum in

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(1) Coolidge, 380
(2) Ibid, 380

the lower grades of labor which prevented the expansion of industry and construction work at potential speeds under a full labor supply. (1)

In fact, at times of unusual excitement in the mines following a "strike", even the skilled left their high wage jobs to try to make a quick fortune. If they succeeded in some degree, they stayed on at the mines, leaving behind them an even more spacious labor vacuum. Often, too, if they failed, they returned to San Francisco to join the swelling ranks of the discontented, reluctant to take back the old time job at what now seemed like a low return compared to the dream of getting rich quick. California was an economic paradox, being almost continually short of manual laborers, yet frequently overstocked with skilled, capable, well educated men out of jobs.

After the Chinese had been legally excluded in 1882, some returned to the mother country and others migrated to different parts of the United States, leaving the labor vacuum, which they had never completely filled, even emptier than before. As the State Commissioner of Labor, John C. Enos, reported in the following year, 1883, "The industrial situation in California is not to bring occupation to labor, but labor to occupations." (2) Employers, newspapers, and citizens in general, outside the labor movement, complained of the labor shortages all over the State, calling the Chinese indispensable, and expressing fears of a labor famine running over at least

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(1) T.F. Cronise, The Natural Wealth of California
(2) Coolidge, 337

twenty-five years. (1)

In fairness to the claims of organized labor, though their tactics can hardly be given ethical sanction, it must be remembered that prior to the actual decline of Chinese population following the exclusion there was no guarantee that the Asiatic would not come across the ocean in vast labor hordes, actually overflowing the vacuum and causing an oversupply of cheap labor in the State. The steamship companies made money on their passage and the employer was able to operate with a smaller payroll due to their lower wage. It must be admitted further that numbers of the gold rush migrants were not laborers and felt a class consciousness about manual labor jobs that helps to explain their reluctance to take this work even when unemployed. The educational limitations of others helps to explain their prejudices and their ready acceptance of an innocent scapegoat. Important, too, is the obvious fact that they did not have an historical perspective. They could not see that the labor vacuum would remain even after the Chinese had been excluded, that it would be filled in turn by Japanese, Mexicans, and Filipinos, and that they would have to import emergency contingents of Caucasian laborers in the face of the shortage created by exclusion of the Chinese. In fact, to stop the widening gap left by the Chinese, employers imported Negroes, Apaches, Yaquis, Mexicans, Cholos, Italians, Greeks, Austrians, Portuguese, Hawaiians, Hindus, Porto Ricans, Filipinos, and above all Japanese. As McKenzie said in 1928:

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(1) Augustus Layres, The Other Side of the Chinese Question

> "Exclusion is no longer a solution of the problems of economic competition with races living on a lower economic level. The exclusion of one race invites the immigration of another whose standard of living may be equally low and whose racial traits may be equally divergent. The exclusion of the Chinese stimulated the immigration of the Japanese, and the exclusion of the Japanese in turn is causing an increased immigration from Mexico." (1)

We recall at this point the coincidence of two great historical events across the ocean from each other uniting to start the migration of the Chinese to California. The Taiping Rebellion and the Gold Rush combined to push the Chinese out of the Canton area and to pull them into the California territory. Another twin coincidence did much the same for the Japanese. Emigration from Japan was illegal until an edict of the Imperial Government legalized it in the year 1885. This followed on the heels of the Chinese Exclusion Acts of 1882-1884, making a new Asiatic group available to the pull of the California labor vacuum. Emigration companies were organized to advertise in Japan, arrange passage, and place the new immigrant with the employer who had contracted for him. By 1907, the year of the "Gentlemen's Agreement", there were between 75,000 and 95,000 Japanese in the country, with between 40,000 and 60,000 in California. (2)

Their coming, reminding us of the initial welcome to the Chinese, was looked upon as at least partial economic salvation by the farmer and land-owner. The gap in the labor supply, aggravated by the loss of so many of the Chinese, had put a

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(1) McKenzie, 181
(2) H.A. Millis, The Japanese Problem in the United States, 24-25
Mr. Millis, after a careful study, offers figures to support his contention that the census was about 20,000 short.

half million acres of farmlands out of production. Banks were glutted with mortgages on farmlands that could not be put into production for want of labor. The land-owners had been deprived of their farmhands. The central San Joaquin Valley was still a desert waiting for the Japanese to make it "blossom as the rose". Imperial Valley, too, was in its unhealthy barren wasteland condition waiting for the Japanese to help make it the most productive district in the entire state. Eagerly received at first, the Japanese applied himself with industry to aid materially in bringing agriculture from an economic low ebb to a new all time high water mark. (1)

The Japanese, however, were not like the self-effacing Chinese, who quietly slipped into the abandoned placer mines to take the "leavings" of the Caucasian miners. The Island Oriental was aggressive. With an ambition which the whites had previously taken for granted as their own private monopoly the Japanese sought better wages, housing, and working conditions. To get them he was not above violating a contract in mid-season or striking when the farmer could not get a new crew. Japanese control of the labor market in the berry, potato, flower, and truck-garden areas often resulted in pressure on the Caucasian farmers to lease or sell ranches to the Japanese, at the risk of incurring financial loss if they refused. They also refused to be "ghettoed" in Chinatown fashion. Paying unusually high prices for property in all-white sections, they established a "beach-head". The whites sold their surrounding properties at a loss and the Japanese were usually the buyers.

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(1) Bertram J. Schrieke, Alien Americans, 23

It will probably not surprise the student of this period in California's labor history to learn that the Caucasians resented the aggressiveness of the new Oriental. Not only was the Japanese automatically placed in a lower classification because of his skin color and his foreign origin, but the Chinese had fallen so easily into a secondary category that it was something of a shock to the Caucasian to discover this "presumptiveness" in an Oriental. Thus the back-log of anti-Asiatic sentiment built up by organized labor and others over several decades was more readily rekindled against the Japanese. The "coolie labor menace" was raised in San Francisco on May 7, 1900 at a meeting of the State and City Building Trades Councils. The victory of Japan over Russia had given the Caucasian pause to reconsider his supposed superiority and had issued in the "Yellow Peril" warning of Kaiser Wilhelm II. The San Francisco Chronicle launched an attack upon the Japanese in California in 1905, which resulted in a school segregation ordinance, even though there were only 93 Japanese children of school age in San Francisco. McWilliams suggests in addition a minor opportunistic motive on the part of San Francisco's Mayor, Eugene E. Schmitz, making the Japanese a scapegoat to divert attention from his corrupt regime. (1) During the chaos of the earthquake and fire in San Francisco

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(1) Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin, 150
Mr. McWilliams quotes the Los Angeles Times on Schmitz after the Mayor declared that if necessary he would lay down his life battling the Japanese: "It is a notable fact that His Honor has never laid down anything of value. His promise, however, would almost reconcile anyone to a war with Japan."

the following year the Japanese were the victims of violence. Their appeal to the Empire for support enraged the native Caucasians, speeding the agitation for punitive legislation. The instances when the Japanese served as strike breakers, though not numerous, added fuel to the fire, of course. In addition, although the Japanese pushed for better wages and conditions, the Immigration Commission indicated their practice of under-cutting wage rates to get a foothold in some fields. The Commission reports this practice in relation to the Chinese, Mexicans, East Indians, and European immigrants. (1) The unions, furthermore, looked upon the Japanese labor gangs with their Japanese contractors as a form of organized competition, convenient to the employers and cheaper on their payroll.

Viewed unemotionally, however, the facts seem to show that the Japanese were chiefly employed in railway maintenance of way, in the mines and mills as day laborers, in the fish canneries, and in the fields and orchards. The color prejudice which had driven the Chinese from their places in the shoe factories, clothing manufacture, and cigar making prevented the Japanese from competing with Caucasians here. They have never been employed in conspicuous numbers in any branch of manufacture in San Francisco. It is possible that their service as

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(1) Millis, 44-47
It is noteworthy that this practice was stopped in the mines by the United Mine Workers' acceptance of the Japanese as members of the union, giving them the standard rate established by collective bargaining. (Millis, 45)

domestics may have kept the wage rate in this area down to some degree, although there was so much demand that Caucasian women were apparently able to secure positions with ease at rates much higher than were obtainable in the East. The Cooks' Helpers' Union in San Francisco complained of Japanese in this field underbidding their wage scale. The Japanese were not taken into this union as they were into the U.M.W. Their wage rate in 1909, however, was found to be about the same as that of the non-union whites. Public hostility against their employment in barrooms and hotels kept them out of the latter, but hostility died down after an unsuccessful boycott of the saloons, largely because Caucasian labor was not readily obtainable. As Millis sums it up:

> "They have usually been efficient unless handicapped by a poor knowledge of English, they have been easily secured when others have not, and though they have until recently (1915) been 'cheap labor' in these communities, it is safe to say that only in exceptional cases have they undermined the working conditions of others seeking employment. To a large extent they have 'filled in' where others have not been attracted in large numbers because of the character of the work. In few branches of employment desired by white men have the Japanese ever been permitted to gain a foothold." (1)

In fairness again to organized labor, though we repeat our ethical rejection of their tactics, it must be admitted that without our historical perspective the threatening flood of Oriental labor seemed at that time to be a genuine possibility. Averaging close to 16,000 arrivals per year from 1901-1908, 126,622 Japanese came into the country during this eight year period. Coincidentally, the largest number came in 1907,

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(1) Millis, 56

the year of financial panic. The "Gentleman's Agreement" of 1907 was not successful in reducing the number of Japanese in the State, largely because women came as "picture brides". Not only did the record continue to show a large number of Japanese entrants, therefore, but the coming of the women made possible the birth of a second generation of native born Japanese. This caused further alarm about being overrun, giving rise to the slogan "California shall not become the Caucasian graveyard!" (1)

The Oriental stereotype was used again. An Asiatic Exclusion League of North America was formed. Even an Anti-Japanese Laundry League was organized. Labor organizations, military and patriotic societies, retail merchants' associations, and the press combined to demand exclusion. The same arguments of cultural and biological assimilation being impossible were used against the Japanese as had been used against the Chinese. Their cheap labor threat was decried in the same pattern. And added to the attacks used upon the Chinese were the charges of social aggressiveness and patriotism to the Japanese Empire.

The Japanese themselves attempted to stave off the exclusion law by petitioning their own government to cease granting passports to the "picture brides". The petition was granted and the passports ceased, but the California Alien Land Law of 1921 and the federal exclusion law of 1924 barred all aliens who

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(1) Schrieke, 28

were not eligible to citizenship. (1)

Had the labor void been filled? The Chinese had not filled it, as the demand for them, even after exclusion, has already indicated. The Japanese had more than replaced the departing Chinese. The loss of 45,000 Chinese from 1880 to 1920 was made up by the 70,000 Japanese on the official U.S. census of 1920. California had a net gain, then, of at least 25,000 Orientals. The labor vacuum, however, continued to operate by drawing Mexicans and Filipinos to California by the thousands.

The 1907 "Gentlemen's Agreement", whereby the Emperor was to limit the emigration of his laboring men to America, reduced the supply of incoming Japanese workers while those returning to Japan naturally cut down the supply formerly available. It may cause no surprise to learn, then, that the Mexican influx in significant numbers, dates from 1908, the year following the agreement. More than 15,000 came for each of the years of 1909, 1910, and 1911. 20,000 came in 1912. After the Japanese were legally excluded in 1924, the next five years saw 63,000 Filipinos enter Hawaii and 45,000 come to the mainland. The Mexicans, too, came in even greater numbers in the post-exclusion period than they had in the years immediately following the 1907 agreement. 85,000 came in one year, 60,000 in another, 30,000 in another, until by 1930, only six years after the

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(1) The number of Japanese male laborers returning to Japan from 1908-1913 was slightly larger than the incoming group. Male laborers, however, were being "exchanged" for wives and brides-to-be. Actual numbers of Japanese entering the country, therefore, may present a false picture without this explanation.

Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924, there were over a million and a half Mexican-born immigrants in the country, chiefly in Texas, New Mexico, California, Arizona, and Colorado. California's share by the 1930 census was 368,013. They were chiefly used to fill the low level jobs in the labor vacuum, jobs the native Caucasian-American shunned, in the main. They took track work with railroads, drainage and reclamation work in the swamp or desert lands, picking and packing in the fruit and berry harvests, migrant labor to replace or complement the Japanese. They filled the void in the sugar beet fields left by the curtailment of the supply of former sugar beet workers from Germany, Russia, Poland, and Belgium. The latter, unhampered by color prejudice, found their way up the economic ladder, leaving the labor vacuum below them for the mexicans to fill. Numbers of Japanese, moreover, despite color prejudice, moved up the scale also, leaving their places for Mexicans and Filipinos.

The Mexicans have been a different group in some ways from the Asiatics who preceded them. The prejudice against them, while often classified as "color prejudice", varied with the texture of the skin, for some were light and others dark. Another point of difference was the proximity of the homeland, in contrast to Asia, and more of them returned to Mexico than the combined Asiatic populations in america. There has also been more of a temporary immigration, thousands coming at crop time and returning to Mexico after the harvest. Even this temporary migration, however, has usually left its residue of permanent residents each time.

Over against the differences are striking parallels to the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino groups. Welcomed at first as labor salvation for farm, field, and industry, the initial welcome was followed by antagonism due to the "cheap labor" scare. The argument then shifted from economic competition to racism with its stereotypes, the term, "Greaser", following the previous, "Chink" and "Jap". Exclusion was virtually achieved by 1930 with a combination of another "gentlemen's agreement" and an American Border Patrol to see that it was kept. Carey McWilliams opines:

> "The arguments in favor of and opposed to Mexican immigration followed the familiar pattern of a confused hodgepodge of pseudo-sociological and bogus anthropological nonsense that characterized every hearing on Oriental immigration. In both cases, the issues were kicked around by special-interest groups, with the government of the United States, as such, having virtually nothing to say in the course of the debate and no voice in the outcome." (1)

We have already mentioned the initial part of the Filipino in labor vacuum replacement following the 1924 Exclusion Act, with almost 110,000 coming to Hawaii and the Pacific Coast in five years. The customary welcome was not only offered by the employers who needed them for the bottom jobs in the void, but by the Congressional declaration in 1924 that they were not aliens, thus making possible their entry despite the Exclusion Act. The Box Bill and the Harris Bill, which, though never passed, threatened to exclude Mexican labor, may have been added stimulants to employers

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(1) McWilliams, 121

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to import these thousands of vacuum substitutes "just in case". (1)

Like the two previous Oriental waves of immigration to America, the idea was not original with the Filipinos, who previously had not been a migrating people. Even a labor vacuum requires some channel for its filling-in process, since human labor does not, like water, automatically flow into the deepest vacant areas. Recruiting was again carried on by special agents of employers seeking to fill the void left by the exclusion policies of the government. The agents and the steamship companies tended to emphasize passage money rather than the good of the parties involved (the immigrant, the American worker, the general public), since there had been a "steerage vacuum" following the exclusion of the Oriental.

The dormant asiatic color hatred in California was again stirred soon after the customary welcome wore off, in this case even more rapidly than in the case of the Chinese and Japanese. Added to the Filipino's disillusionment in the face of this reversal of attitude was the fact that he had come from a schooling in the free American tradition. As he arrived in numbers in America, however, he discovered that the tradition was not just what he had expected. Riots in California towns, chiefly in the nineteen-thirties, in Tulare, Watsonville, Stockton, and in Lake County and Imperial Valley were expressions of color hatred, undoubtedly stored up from previous anti-Oriental campaigns. Honorante Mariano tells us that when

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(1) McWilliams, 231

the body of Fermin Tobera, a Filipino killed in one of these riots, was shipped back to the Islands, Manila designated a National Humiliation Day, ten thousand attending a public funeral provided by the government. Tobera was considered "a martyr of American intolerance". (1)

Agitation for the same legislation which had excluded the Chinese and Japanese ran into the fact that the Filipino was under the same flag as the exclusionists. This was circumvented rather handily, however, in the Philippines Independence Act, March 24, 1934, making possible virtual exclusion with a negligible quota of fifty Filipinos admitted annually. After the Pearl Harbor-Corregidor-Bataan legend had been written swiftly into history with the Filipinos playing their military role beside our own men, one of our newspapers coined a phrase which Carey McWilliams later used as a chapter sub-head, "legally undesirable heroes". (2)

Interesting in the light of our vacuum theory is the fact that the same farmer-employer group which had urged exclusion and deportation in the period of reaction, in the midst of World War II's labor vacuum begged the government to exempt Filipinos from military service and to release others from the army in order to work in the fields. As Fernando Taggaoa wrote:

> "In the United States the war is doing wonders for the resident Filipinos. Many are employed in defense jobs. The majority employed in the agricultural industries are receiving higher wages and better treatment than ever before. A few are opera-

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(1) McWilliams, 240-241
(2) Ibid, 240

> ting truck gardens in California. Some are joining the navy as mess boys. Many more are in the army." (1)

This quotation provides a convenient bridge for us to move across into the area of the Negro-American. We have not described every group in the labor vacuum, but the pattern of vacuum-influx-welcome-agitation-exclusion-vacuum-new influx-welcome-agitation-new exclusion-vacuum-etc., has been repeated often enough to illustrate the validity of the theory as Brown and Roucek state it:

> "This holds that the basic demand for cheap, efficient labor, created by graduation of immigrants upward into higher occupational levels, is strong enough ordinarily to draw upon a new source of supply each time legal restrictions are imposed to check the inflow of any one people which supplies laborers who satisfy this demand. Thus the Chinese were excluded in 1882-1884. Soon the Japanese were stimulated to come in the place of the Chinese. No sooner were the Japanese debarred by the Gentlemen's Agreement than the Mexicans came to fill the void on the low-paid unpleasant work level. The 1924 Exclusion Act, which reduced markedly further immigration by Japanese, was the signal for an influx of Filipinos. It is interesting also to note that agitation against this process occurs invariably at times when the local market for labor with which to exploit, use, or develop natural resources and capital is depressed by a temporary comparative oversupply of laborers." (2)

This theory has played a part in the economic opportunity of the Negro-American worker in Northern and Western industry. The reason the above mentioned paragraph on the Filipino's enhanced opportunity during a war created vacuum offers a good bridge to move to the Negro-American is that the latter's opportunities due to the vacuum were chiefly in the two world wars. We proceed to consider the Negro-American in the light

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(1) McWilliams, 246

(2) Brown andRoucek, 475-479; see also McKenzie, 181-182 and E.F. Penrose, *Population Theories and Their Application*, Part III, 173-336

of the labor vacuum theory.

The Northerner who has had the rapid thought process of reverie whirl through his mind, circle about the problem of the Negro-American, and whirl out again to make room for the next free association thought pattern, may have wondered why the Negro-American has not migrated in greater numbers from the South. Three of every four Negro-Americans were still in the South at the 1940 census. In 1860 nineteen of every twenty were in the South. Eighty years later fifteen of every twenty were still there. In the light of Southern lynchings, the disfranchisement, the segregation, the discrimination, the caste system in all its aspects one might wonder why no morethan 23.8% were living in the North and West in 1940. Inertia undoubtedly accounts for part of our answer. There is a psychological tendency for human kind to be bound to environment and habit for a long time. Lack of knowledge and education probably played a part. Lacking self-confidence the Negro-American hesitated to travel far from home in his uncertainty about where to go, how to get there, and what to do when he got there. He probably did not know how to go about purchasing a railroad ticket in most individual instances. Lack of money must have played a leading role in keeping the Negro-American down South. He was often deliberately held in debt by various peonage practices among Southern plantation owners and farmers. If he was not in debt, it was still not an easy matter to save enough for transportation and a little to go on pending employment in the North. The opposition of

Northern Caucasian workers to the initial influx of Negro workers proved to be a factor retarding to a degree further migration. The immigration of millions of Caucasian Europeans was a definite factor in the lack of Northern opportunity for the Negro-Americans. The former got into the labor vacuum before the latter got started out of the South. The desire of Southern Negro leadership to retain its followers also militated against an exodus, though this was later offset to some degree by the Northern Negro leadership's desire to increase its following. The dependence of Southern landowners upon Negro labor was a factor which expressed itself in propaganda, legislation, even in violence after the "Great Migration" of the First World War began, in determined attempts to hold the Negro worker in the South.

These six factors, a suggestive though not exhaustive list, help to account for the ten million Negro-Americans still in the South in 1940.

Now for some suggestions to account for the three million who no longer live in the South. Some, of course, were born outside the South, children and children's children of the original migrants. Our present concern, however, is with the motivating forces which impelled these original migrants to counteract the six factors listed above and move out of the South.

The regional distribution of the Negro was about the same in 1860 as it had been in 1790, 94.9 per cent living in the South. The proportion in the North and West rose from 5.1 per cent in 1860 to 10.4 per cent in 1910, a total of [illegible] for the half century. This included the famous organized

exodus into Kansas during 1879 under "Pap" Singleton and Henry Adams, who signed up about 38,000 Negroes for the migration. The majority did not make the trip, however, though there was a considerable transfer of population involved, the census showing an increase in Kansas' Negro population from 627 in 1860 to 43,107 in 1880. (1) California's Negro population had moved from 4,000 to 6,000 in the same two decades. The Negro-American had not yet begun the heavy migrations North and West.

The first major movement occurred as a result of the labor vacuum, principally, aided by the pent up resentment of the Negro-American against the Southern white, the poverty, agricultural depressions, and boll weevil blights in the Southern States, and in some part by desires for better political, social and educational advantages in the North. (2)

The operation of the labor vacuum in favor of Negro opportunity in the North was set off in this wise. First, the immigration of Europeans who had been filling the vacuum at the bottom economic levels was substantially reduced by World War I. The five years from 1910 to 1914 saw an average of over a million immigrants each year. The next five years combined were equal approximately to one of the pre-war years, totalling slightly over a million, and averaging in round numbers 235,000 annually. Second, some of the immigrants who had come in pre-war years departed for their home countries during the war. This accounted for a very small eros in the

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(1) Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, 1944
(2) Charles H. Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States, [illegible];
Mr. Wesley lists 14 specific reasons offered by Negro migrants themselves

labor vacuum, however, as the number departing from 1915-1919 was smaller than in earlier and later periods. This factor should be mentioned, nevertheless, because any addition to the war labor shortage was felt keenly during that period. Third, thousands from the ranks of our labor citizenry were inducted into the armed forces. Fourth, the demand for production was greater during the war than it had been during peace time. There was a very real labor vacuum, then, in Northern industry. There was not, however, a vast floating reservoir of Negro labor in the South ready to pour itself automatically into the vacuum. Northerners organized a careful campaign to fill the void. Labor agents, often in the guise of salesmen or insurance agents to avoid trouble with Southerners, combed the South for Negro labor. The labor agent sometimes paid the railroad fare, arranging details, and guaranteeing immediate employment upon arrival at the Northern destination. Over half a million moved North in the war years. And when the labor vacuum continued to draw them in the period from 1921-1924 following the Immigration Act, another half million came. (1) The vacuum was not so great in the second period, but the pattern had been established. Messages from Northern Negroes stimulated Southern Negroes to migrate. A partial escape from "Jim-Crow" seemed possible. School facilities were better. The courts offered a closer approximation to justice. The right to vote was a factor. These were among the factors, which, along with a more favorable opportunity for relief in the

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(1) McWilliams, 279

North, kept thousands coming even during the "depression thirties", possibly 317,000 in the decade, 1930-1940. (1)

The bulk of these two major migrations and the depression period follow-up went to the big industrial cities of the North. The movement to the Far West was relatively negligible. The single city of Chicago held a 2½-1 ratio over the entire State of California in 1920, 3-1 in 1930, 2½-1 again in 1940, and a round total of 337,000 to 209,000 in 1944, following California's greatest influx during World War II. (2)

Negroes had been among the first settlers of Los Angeles in 1781 and had been included in the covered wagon caravans prior to 1850. Of the 321 persons living in San Francisco in 1847 there were ten Negroes.

The sentiment against slavery in California is expressed by the *Californian* in 1848:

> "Not a single instance of precedence exists in the shape of physical bondage of our fellowmen... we desire only a white population in California... we dearly love the Union, but declare our positive preference for an independent condition of California to the establishment of any degree of slavery, or even the importation of free blacks." (3)

It was further argued that middle class white migrants would be discouraged from coming to the State if the blacks were permitted to come. In the matter of color the case of the Indians already in the State was pointed up as a nuisance which the State would like to get rid of. The competition of cheap labor was anticipated. The biological argument of degradation by association with an inferior race was advanced.

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(1) Myrdal, 1231
(2) St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 8, and McEntire, *Population Movements in California*
(3) Quoted by Eaves, 82

The fear of monopolies and social inequality resulting from exploitation of the blacks was argued. Warning was given that they would in all probability constitute a vicious and disorderly element in the community. The expense entailed in governing and supporting them was prophetically added to the tax burden.

McCarver, Steuart, and Semple in the Legislature warned of plans on the part of slave owners to bring hundreds of Negroes to the mines, prior to their liberation, setting them free in California. Although there were less than one thousand Negroes in California in 1850, McCarver's Sacramento District had 200 of them, and their high visibility plus the reports of Southerners planning to bring thousands more to the State prompted McCarver to offer exclusion legislation to his fellow legislators.

Dimmick and Gilbert spoke in opposition, not from the Southerner's point of view, but on the civil rights argument. They indicated the discrepancy between the exclusion of the Negro and the lofty declarations of freedom and equality in the Constitution of California. They presented the ethical argument that the discrimination was not on the basis of criminality or other undesirable category, but simply on the basis of being black. They also suggested the legal consideration of unconstitutionality, based on the civil rights clause, "The citizen of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several states." Another legislator, formerly of New York, spoke of the men of

color he had known there as responsible citizens, men of wealth, intelligence, and business capacity. He declared himself unwilling to deprive such men of their rights.

The committee of the whole, however, adopted McCarver's exclusion proposal. Two weeks brought a change in sentiment partly over Missouri's difficulty in gaining admission to the union over just such a clause, and partly as a result of public opinion on the other side putting pressure on legislators. The amendment was lost by a vote of 33-9.

P.H. Burnett, first Governor of California, had a previous exclusion record in Oregon. He had introduced into the Oregon Legislature a measure providing that any free Negro or Mulatto who did not leave the State within a prescribed time should be arrested and flogged at intervals of six months until he did leave. He later introduced a more lenient measure of hiring them to persons, who for the shortest time of service, would undertake to remove them from the state.

Governor Bigler in an 1851 message, after none of the exclusion measures had passed, warned:

> "As was anticipated, numbers of this race have been manumitted in the slave states by their owners and brought to California, bound to service for a limited time as hirelings. We have thus, in numerous instances, practical slavery in our midst. That this class is rapidly increasing in our state is very certain." (1)

Both Eaves and McEntire brand the California Fugitive Slave Law of 1852 as so unjust to the Negro as to be virtual bondage, permitting their purchase and sale in California after the

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(1) Eaves, 90

people had framed their Declaration of Rights prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude. A court decision in the personal case of Negro-American Archy Lee, however, restored some measure of justice to the California Negro.

In addition to the pro and con argument among Californians of Northern leanings were the sentiments of Californians of Southern leanings, constituting about one-third of the State's Caucasian population in 1850. When 1218 citizens of South Carolina and Florida petitioned the California Legislature to grant permission to emigrate with a colony of 2000 salves, "by whose peculiar labor alone our valuable soils may be rendered productive and our wilderness to blossom as the rose", an exciting discussion arose between those in the Legislature of Northern and Southern sympathies. No action was possible, however, since the Legislature had no power to grant such a request. One Southerner in a later argument advanced the rather novel suggestion that the presence of poison oak made it impossible for white men to develop the agricultural resources of the State and that Negroes were thus a necessity. (1)

In 1859 the split in sentiment between the Northern and Southern sympathizers in California issued in the Pico Law. This threatened to cut the State in two over the issue of slavery. It was actually passed by the Legislature and approved by the Governor on April 18,1859. Sanction was refused, however, by the Congress of the United States. (2)

By 1860 it had become apparent that Governor Bigler's prediction that a rapid increase of manumitted slaves coming

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(1) Eaves, 82-94
(2) McEntire, Population Movements in California

to California was a certainty had been a premature prediction. The decade showed an increase of approximately 3000, bringing the total to 4000, while the Chinese in the same ten year period had increased from 4000 to some figure between 35,000 and 50,000. (1) Attention was diverted, as we have already seen, to the Anti-Chinese agitation, and the Negro-American ceased to be the central figure in California color prejudice.

The Negro population count remained almost stationary for the next decade, 4,086 in 1860 and 4,272 in 1870. The gain in the census figure for 1880 was less than 2000, the 16th Census table showing 6,018.

During the next decade there was some discussion of importing Negroes to the Santa Clara Valley where the Viticultural Society needed some "gap-fillers" for their labor vacuum. The Fresno grape farmers planned a similar importation. The Southern Pacific Railroad Company in California planned to cooperate with employers in the State by delivering Negroes to them and accepting payment of transportation fare after the Negroes had earned it in California. A few hundred Negro-Americans found their way to California as a result of these economic pulls from the small labor vacuum pockets mentioned and undoubtedly others of similar nature. Had 714 more Negroes come during the decade their population in the State would have doubled by 1890 (11,322). During the next ten years the group did not quite hold its own, experiencing a slight drop to 11,045 by 1900.

Gunnar Myrdal speaks of the cities in the West during the

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(1) 16th U.S. Census gives 34,933; Coolidge gives between 45,000 and 50,000; Eaves gives 47,000; McWilliams gives 34,933 as the figure for those listed as miners, which may account for the difference in these statistics.

next decade as having a reputation for less prejudice toward Negro-Americans than even the Northeastern cities. James Weldon Johnson's description of San Francisco in 1905 bears him out:

> "I was delighted with San Francisco. Here was a civilized center, metropolitan and urbane. With respect to the Negro race, I found it a freer city than New York. I encountered no bar against me in hotels, restaurants, theaters, or other places of public accomodation and entertainment. We hired a furnished apartment in the business area, and took our meals wherever it was most convenient. I moved about with a sense of confidence and security, and entirely from under that cloud of doubt and apprehension that constantly hangs over an intelligent Negro in every Southern city and in a great many cities of the North...The black population was relatively small but the colored people that I met and visited lived in good homes and appeared to be prosperous. I talked with some of them about race conditions; the consensus of their comment was that San Francisco was the best city in the United States for a Negro." (1)

Myrdal expresses surprise that San Francisco and Los Angeles did not attract greater Negro populations, citing the distance and the competition from Orientals and Mexicans already entrenched as partial explanations. Other factors which suggest themselves for consideration include the heavy concentration of Negro-Americans in the big Northern cities, from whose centers came direct invitations to fellow Negroes in the South to join them. We have mentioned Chicago, and both New York and Philadelphia were 2-1 over Chicago in Negro population in 1900. Other Northern cities with more Negroes than the entire State of California in 1900 included Boston, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Kansas City (Mo), St. Louis, and

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(1) James Weldon Johnson, Along This Way, 206-208

Pittsburg. The Western cities were not so highly industrialized as the Northern cities at the turn of the century. There were fewer employment opportunities of the type offered by the cities listed above. (1) An additional factor may have been the presence of so many Southerners in California. The treatment of the Oriental and other Non-North-Europeans during the first half century of California's history may have discouraged Negro migrants. The earlier treatment of the Negro-American himself during that period may have been a deterrent. Despite these factors and perhaps due in some part to reports like that of James Weldon Johnson and in other part to the Oriental exclusion activities 10,600 came to California to almost double the Negro-American factor in the population by 1910 (21,645).

Of the half million who left the South in the Great Migration of World War I the share allotted to California was not large. The increase from 1910-1920 was 17,118 (total for 1920 was 38,763).

In the ensuing decade the migration to California was apparent in the State's biggest ten year increase in total population. California gained a little more than two and one quarter million inhabitants from 1920-1930, a 65.7 per cent increase. Negro-Americans furnished 42,285 of these new inhabitants, more than doubling the 1920 figure for a new high of 81,048 in 1930. It had been a period marked by an Oriental Exclusion Act in 1924 and the European quota systems of 1921-24. This cut down the supply of former immigrants

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(1) Carter Godwin Woodson, A Century of Negro Migration, 163

to open the labor void for about 28,000 new Filipinos and approximately 250,000 new Mexicans in addition to our 42,000 new Negroes. The Chinese population increased in this decade for the first time in half a century, adding almost 10,000 to 1920's 28,812. The Japanese figure jumped from a round 72,000 to a round 97,500. Even the Indian group showed its most marked increase since 1860, adding about 2000 to the almost static 17,000 (1860: 17,798; 1920: 17,360). These minority groups showed a combined total in round numbers of 283,000 in 1920 and a combined total of 637,000 in 1930.

The "depression thirties" exerted their pull in California, not with a labor vacuum, for unemployment reached America's all time high in this period, but because of the various forms of relief and public assistance offered in a relatively well-to-do State. Migration of Negro-Americans from South to North and West was not so marked in this decade as in the "Great Migration Period" from 1915-1930, but it did continue. Myrdal offers estimates from his colleagues, Stouffer and Florant, approximating 317,000 for 1930-1940 as compared with 716,000 for 1920-1930.(1) The Government's 16th Census shows that California actually showed a higher influx of Negro-Americans during the 'thirties than during the 'twenties. 43,258 came to the State during 1930-1940 (42,285 had come during the previous decade). This influx gave California a total of 124,306 Negro-Americans.

The labor vacuum theory operated most effectively in the

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(1) Myrdal, 1231

opening of opportunities to Negro-Americans, however, in the Far West's war manpower shortage during the early 'forties. Katherine Archibald, after referring to the migrations of the Negro from 1916 through the 'thirties, says:

> "But in 1941 and 1942 another war boom struck the nation with many times the impact of the last, and once again expanding industry turned to the Negroes, wherever they could be found, as a group whose labor potential, rich beyond prediction, had hardly been touched. Those already in the industrial areas were the first resource of man power, but the gates of the South soon had to be opened again to allow another exodus from the cotton and tobacco fields. This time, too, the Negroes moved to the arsenals and foundries of the Northeast; but the man-power hunger of the shipyards and aircraft factories of the Far West was greater still. In the first three years of war the Negro population of the Pacific States was swollen by more than one hundred fifty thousand new arrivals, most of whom crowded into the restless cities of California." (1)

San Francisco received 13,000 new Negro-Americans from Pearl Harbor Day to April of 1944. This trebled the Negro population in this city. Berkeley nearly doubled its Negro group, Oakland more than doubled. Vallejo increased its Negro factor in the population 15 times to make 9% of the city total. Richmond had but 300 in 1940 and counted 6000 in 1944 and 14,000 in 1947. El Cerrito with but 2 Negroes in 1940 had 500 in 1944. To the figure of 124,306 for the Negro-American in California in 1940 may be added somewhere from 60,000 to 85,000 to reach the 1944 total. (2) An estimate from the Oakland Chamber of Commerce in April of 1948 offers in round numbers a 125,000 increase since 1940, which doubles the 1940 census count (124,306). Southern California

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(1) Katherine Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard*, 59

(2) Davis McEntire was a consultant for the survey, *The Negro War Worker in San Francisco*, which gives the [illegible]; but his own later exhaustive population study gives [illegible].

has a large share of California's Negro-Americans, Embree citing an estimate of approximately 128,000 in Los Angeles alone in 1943. (1) The Oakland office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People offers an estimate for Alameda County's Negro population at 65,000 in April, 1948. The Association's figure of 45,000 for Oakland is endorsed by the Oakland Chamber of Commerce. The figure for Berkeley of 15,000 is endorsed by the Berkeley Chamber of Commerce. The Urban League in San Francisco suggested an estimate of 45,000 for that city, which is 10,000 above the estimate of the Oakland Chamber of Commerce for San Francisco's Negro population, which is similar to the Oakland NAACP's estimate of 35,000. Richmond took a census in 1947 which gave 14,000 as its Negro population figure. Adding the 65,000 for Alameda County to Richmond's 14,000, and taking the lower of the two estimates suggested for San Francisco, 35,000, we have a figure of 114,000 in the Bay Area. (2)

Davis McEntire, already alluded to as having done research in this same area, is inclined to place more faith in a lower estimate. The Federal Bureau of the Census took samplings a year ago, April, 1947, which are reputed to have a 95% accuracy rate at hitting within 13,000 of a 100,000 figure. Their Bay Area figure for Non-Whites is 102,465, of which not more than 80,000 would probably be Negroes. This includes Vallejo and Marin and San Mateo Counties in addition to those localities named above. Even if the accuracy figure should err on the

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(1) Edwin R. Embree, Brown Americans, 37-38
(2) Personal interviews, April 7 and 8, 1948

short side, the maximum addition would give only 93,000 Negroes in the Bay Area.

Somewhere in the neighborhood of 80,000 to 115,000 Negro-Americans, then, are now living in the Bay Area. None of those interviewed expected a falling rate in the future. Their expectations indicated general agreement with Myrdal:

> "With the West opened up, it would seem that it would be no different from the North in attracting Negroes. It is the writer's impression that, on the whole, Negroes meet relatively less discrimination in the West than in parts of the Middle East and East...The small number of Negroes already in the West, the relatively small amount of race prejudice there, and the heavy demand for servants in California will perhaps make the West Coast cities more popular as places for Negro immigration than Northern cities in the Eastern half of the country. The relatively great extent of Negro migration to California in the last decade is perhaps indicative of a future trend. Since Negroes get practically their only new economic opportunities in growing cities, we may expect that most of the westward migration will be to the cities of the west Coast and not to inland cities and rural districts." (1)

The labor vacuum, then, has finally established for the west that all important pattern of migration, already established for the North during World War I. Late in time the Negro-American has discovered the West. The war boom vacuum of the early 'forties has brought him in here in significant numbers. His present numbers plus the suggested future migration to the State enhances the importance of Union Labor's treatment of the Negro-American worker. We proceed to examine it in some detail in the Bay Area within the CIO and AFL Unions.

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(1) Myrdal, 199-200

CHAPTER III

THE AFL

Before the Negro-American artisan was emancipated, his legal owner followed the practice of hiring him out at a profit. A skilled slave was more profitable to his owner than an unskilled slave. As he waxed proficient, in fact, his value increased. The slave system, then, tended, quite naturally, to add to both quantity and quality of skilled Negro slaves. It was profitable.

Many of these craftsmen used their skills to purchase their freedom, with the result that some of the earliest craft unions in the South were organized by Negro-American freemen. Local One of the Bricklayers in New Orleans is such a craft union. Throughout its continuous half century of activity its membership has always shown a marked majority of colored workers. The New Orleans plasterers have a parallel history. The trowel trades in Charleston show a similar background. Skillful Negro mechanics became property owners. Forty of them owned city property in Charleston valued from $500 to $1200. Others were buying in the uplands of South Carolina. Negro freedmen in Louisiana paid an average of $700 on the 1860 tax rolls. The assessment was made for 18,647 Negroes on thirteen million dollars worth of property. Texas, Virginia, Mississippi, Maryland, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Washington, D.C. reported substantial land and stock ownership in the names of Negro-Americans. New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Connecticut, and Massachusetts were among the Northern States whose tax records showed millions of dollars worth of investments in business and real estate credited to Negroes.

In 1865 for one Caucasian in the skilled occupation of blacksmith, [illegible], cabinetmaker, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], bricklayer, [illegible], and [illegible], there were five Negro artisans [illegible]

[illegible] skilled category. The occupation census showed 100,000 Negro mechanics to 20,000 Caucasian mechanics in the South at the close of the war.

White artisans had shown differing attitudes toward the competition of slave and free Negroes. Some had worked side by side with them in apparent harmony. Others petitioned the legislatures, Georgia, Virginia, and North Carolina among them, to prohibit apprentice training to Negroes or to punish white contractors who hired skilled Negroes. Georgia passed such a law in 1845. Negro competition was resented, too, by Northerners migrating to the South, who had practiced some craft in their former homes. Some of these skilled workmen returned to the North. A substantial migration of skilled whites from the South to Ohio, Indiana, and the Northwest Territory was prompted by their inability to compete with free Negro labor wage rates. As the freedmen moved North, some of the native whites resented them, others defended them. The white immigrants from Europe were favorable in attitude at first, but larger numbers of both groups coming together reversed this friendly attitude. Chapter One has indicated examples of violence in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and New York prior to the Civil War. The Caucasian immigrants avoided the South, [illegible] the European newcomer in the North and West.

The dominance of the Southern Negro artisan in the older building trades gave place to a gradually increasing monopoly of white artisans, [illegible], during the Reconstruction era. The Negro was not taught the new skills involved in large-scale construction. The Caucasian had the political power after Reconstruction. The unions emphasized organization among the workers in large-scale construction. Exclusion or

segregation in union organization also operated in favor of the white worker. (1)

From 1866 to 1895 a struggle went on between those favoring class solidarity in the ranks of labor, combining white and black in unity, and those who favored the monopolist-job-protectionist policy of craft unionism, giving priority to white over black.

The first important effort at union solidarity was made by the National Labor Union, organized in 1866. Jim Crow unions were tolerated and some exclusionist unions included, but in general the policy was to emphasize that the important dividing line for labor was a class line not a color line. Negro labor leaders resented trade union segregation and were less class conscious than Caucasian leaders in the NLU. From 1869 to 1872 the Negroes met in separate congresses, debating the question of affiliation with the whites. The political controversy between the whites favoring the Populist Party and the Negroes favoring the Republican Party brought a split in 1872. The Negro Labor Congress met in New Orleans where "it repudiated the white National Labor Union, declared unflagging loyalty to the Republican party, and passed into oblivion." (2) The National Labor Union soon followed it, and the trade unions which seceded over the issue of political action created the Industrial Congress in 1873, which was to be dedicated to simple trade union economics. The Negroes who had repudiated the NLU were not included in the Industrial Congress, even though the interest of both groups was primarily centered

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(1) [illegible] to W.E.B. Du Bois' The Negro American Artisan, [illegible]; Charles H. Wesley's Negro Labor in the United States, [illegible]; Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris' The Black Worker, [illegible] and Robert C. Weaver's Negro Labor, 5

(2) Spero and Harris, 30

on economic action. The Industrial Congress was the forerunner of the craft unionism of the AFL, and might have been the large body the AFL is today had it not been for the inauspicious date of organization. There was also a panic in 1873 and an ensuing depression. The young union met premature death.

Meanwhile a secret organization had begun in 1869, managing to survive the depression period of the 'seventies, to emerge a decade later with 20,000 members. After coming out into the open, it grew steadily to [illegible] 7[illegible], [illegible] by 1886. Its [illegible] toward the Negro-American worker was not unlike that of the NLU, striving for working class solidarity, but unable to prevent Jim Crowism on the local level. The officers, nevertheless, made sincere efforts in the direction of labor unity, the white delegates refusing to patronize hotels and theatres which excluded Negro delegates to the 1886 convention in Richmond, Virginia. The Negro worker responded to the liberal attitude of the Knights of Labor with an enrollment of 60,000 black workers by 1886.

The year 1881 saw the first step in the split, which, five years later, was to shatter the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor. It was a split in the opposite direction from the 1935 secession of the CIO from the AFL. In 1881 it was the craft union group separating from the "one big union" group. The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada organized [illegible] the Knights [illegible] that year.

In 1886 the group with the long name and the craft union philosophy withdrew from the Knights of Labor and formed the American Federation of

Labor, placing the stamp of craft unionism on the labor movement in the United States for the next half century. This threatened the employment opportunities of the Negro worker who was above 90 per cent unskilled. (1) The status of the skilled minority, indeed, was in question until 1895.

In 1890 the AFL declared itself opposed to the policy of membership exclusion based upon race or color. In 1893 the labor solidarity principle was embraced at the national convention. Creed, color, sex, nationality, or politics were not to disrupt the working people in the labor movement. A personal oath against discrimination was required of the prospective member and unions which practiced discrimination could not gain admittance to the AFL.

When the National Machinists' Union, limited by constitution to white membership, sought admission in 1890, the AFL convention requested that the color bar be removed before admission should be granted. When the NMU promised to do this and failed to carry out the promise, the AFL Executive Council organized the International Machinists' Union of America to force amalgamation from the NMU without the color bar. The amalgamated group, International Association of Machinists, was admitted to the AFL in 1895. This year closed the struggle between the forces of discrimination and anti-discrimination which had been carried on since the formation of the National Labor Union in 1866. [illegible] of craft union exclusion in order to achieve AFL expansion. For the Machinists had merely shifted from one method of discrimination to another. In place of the constitutional color bar [illegible] ritual [illegible]

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(1) Du Bois, , 42; Mr. Du Bois gives 90% for 1890.

The Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders' Union came in on the same basis the following year, 1896. These were the first two of a number of unions in the AFL practicing discrimination in different ways. The written stand of the national organization has not been revised, but the practice of discrimination has been widespread in practice, as the examples in the following pages show.

The AFL did not go entirely unchallenged in the half century prior to the CIO. The International Workers of the World attempted to organize after the pattern of the NLU and the Knights on the basis of working class solidarity. From 1905 into the early 'twenties this syndicalist union issued one million membership cards. 100,000 went to Negroes, chiefly among the lumber workers in Texas and Louisiana and among the longshoremen and dockworkers in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Norfolk. The IWW made a contribution to the concept of union solidarity, but the radicalism in the ideology of the movement was a principal factor leading to its destruc- [illegible] of the American labor movement during the ensuing 'twenties and early 'thirties before the CIO.

Not all AFL unions were organized on the craft principle, however, the unity of Negro and Caucasian has been recognized in the United ne Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Unions from eir early beginnings. Such unions have repeatedly kept the issue of racial solidarity and the matter of living up to the national AFL principle of racial equality before the annual conventions. These two unions also had a part in the formation of the CIO in the mid-'thirties, when the

AFL refused to organize on other than the craft basis. (1)

In general summary of the AFL position, before listing separate unions in the various categories by which discrimination is practiced, the following comments are offered.

Charles S. Johnson, writing in 193-, says:

> "Although only 8 of the nationals and internationals of the American Federation of Labor now expressely bar Negro members, the status of Negro workers in unions has not changed greatly in those fields from which they were originally barred. The sentiment of the American Federation of Labor as expressed in its convention resolutions and in other official pronouncements, within the past 7 years, has strongly supported the unionization of Negroes. This policy has been a coldly logical one with neither the force of general agreement nor official power behind it." (2)

Myrdal in 1944 says:

> "The fact that the American Federation of Labor as such is officially against racial discrimination does not mean much. The Federation has never done anything to check racial discrimination exercised by its member organizations." (3)

The Swedish sociologist quotes his associate, Paul H. Norgren, at some length on the AFL and discrimination, from which the following lines are expressive:

> "...there is no way of knowing whether the Federation will in the future attempt...to bring an end to racial discrimination by its constituent unions. The present writer, for one, is extremely skeptical as to the possibilities. There was some hope in this direction in earlier years, when several large industrial unions, including the United Mine Workers, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, were still affiliated with the Federation. But after the expulsion of these unions in 1937, the craft union leaders came into virtually complete control of the Federation..."

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(1) For [illegible] struggle between the craft [illegible] and the industrial [illegible] Spero and Harris, 29-48, 188-205, 326-356, [illegible] An American Dilemma, 1296-1297

(2) Charles S. Johnson, The Negro in American Civilization, [illegible]

(3) Myrdal, 402

> "It is, in fact, abundantly clear even to the casual student of the labor movement in this country, that one of the principal functions of the American Federation of Labor, as it exists today, is to provide a centralized source of pious propaganda through which the craft unions which control it can issue frequent public reassurances of their firm adherence to the principles of democracy, equality, and unity among the laboring masses, while at the same time they continue with impunity to practice exclusionism and restriction of job opportunities in their own particular fields...The 'control make-up' of the Federation is well adapted to this Jekyll-Hyde role. The Executive Council--which makes all the important decisions concerning policy--is made up principally of the heads of the craft unions which, in one way or another, practice racial discrimination."(1)

Robert Weaver in 1946 includes in his study a U.S. Department of L bulletin summarizing the pre-World War II situation in the AFL:

> "The race issue has presented difficult problems and has created serious situations from the beginning of the organized labor movement. The American Federation of Labor has since its inception declared for the organization of all workers without regard to 'race, creed, color, or sex'. At the same time some of the most important and powerful organizations affiliated with the federation specify that applicants shall be white, others exclude orientals; still others admit Negroes but not on an equal footing or on the same terms as white workers. The American Federation of Labor has no control over the internal policies of its affiliated international organizations, hence cannot apply to them its own rules in this matter even though it admits the element of inconsistency in the situation." (2)

Weaver makes his own summary of AFL war policy:

> "Although on occasions the A.F. of L. actually interceded in effecting the clearance and employment of colored workers through its affiliates, it has since 1895 maintained the fiction that it is powerless to control the internal policies of its affiliated international organizations. Apparently, the actual situation was this: in response to economic and governmental pressures, the A.F. of L. has influenced the practices of internationals and

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(1) Paul H Norgren and Associates, Negro Labor and Its Problems, unpublished manuscript prepared in 1940 for Myrdal's An American Dilemma, this quotation in Myrdal, 1298

(2) Weaver, 218

secured clearance for Negroes. It has not, however, taken official cognizance of Negroes' membership status in affiliated internationals." (1)

During the 1947 AFL Convention in San Francisco, October 6-16, the Retail Clerks International Association introduced the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

> "Whereas the American Federation of Labor has had a good record in opposing discrimination against membership because of race, color, creed or national origin, therefore be it
>
> "Resolved, That we re-affirm our position in opposing discrimination against any person because of his race, color, creed, or national origin." (2)

Since the resolution was adopted without a dissenting vote, it may be presumed that some of the delegates were voting in direct opposition to the practices of their unions. As the following outline indicates, some of the unions at the San Francisco convention discriminate in various ways strictly on account of color.

The categories of discrimination are made up from classifications in Myrdal, Northrup, Weaver, and from field work by the writer in April and May, 1948. These are all AFL affiliates.

I EXCLUSION BY PROVISION IN RITUAL OR CONSTITUTION

1. International Association of Machinists (665,900)
2. Switchmen's Union of North America (9,300)
3. Order of Railroad Telegraphers (4[illegible],000)
4. Railway Mail Association (21,800)

(The Airline Pilots were mistakenly placed in this category by Northrup. See Appendix for membership qualifications of the pilots. Four unions have removed themselves from this classification by removing the color bar, Wire Weavers (400),

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(1) Ibid., 219
(2) *Proceedings, 66th Convention, AFL*, 632

Commercial Telegraphers (19,000), Masters, Mates and Pilots (3000), and Hotel and Restaurant Workers (354,731).)

II EXCLUSION BY TACIT CONSENT

1. International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers (4000)
2. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America (336,854)
3. American Flint Glass Workers Union of North America (26,000)
4. Granite Cutters International Association of America (4000)
5. United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada (201,000)
6. Seafarers International Union of North America (35,000)

III SEGREGATED AUXILIARY STATUS FOR NEGRO-AMERICANS

1. Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (120,000)
2. National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers (400)
3. Sheet Metal Workers International Association (25,000)
4. American Federation of Musicians (151,000)
5. International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America (350,000) (1)

(In 1946 the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers & Helpers (10,000) removed from its

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(1) The Boilermakers do not provide such an auxiliary status for Negroes in the Bay Area. See the section in this chapter, Metals and Machinery.

constitution the provision for colored auxiliary locals. In 1946 the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees (301,000) removed the word, "white", from the membership section of its constitution, placing the matter on a "local option" basis. In 1947 the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen (95,800) also removed "white" from the membership section, instituting "local option".)

IV DISCRIMINATION TOLERATED ON THE LOCAL LEVEL

1. United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (722,000)
2. Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers of America (181,380)
3. Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees (302,000) (1)
4. Brotherhood of Railway Carmen (95,800) (1)
5. Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America (19,000) (2)
6. Masters, Mates, and Pilots of America (3000) (2)
7. Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America (354,731) (2)

As the Nation observed in its section, "Labor", in September, 1947:

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(1) The Clerks and Carmen by reason of "local option" explained in parenthetical remarks under Section III are now re-classified in Section IV

(2) Reclassification from Section I

> "The American Federation of Labor has no national structure comparable to the CIO's anti-discrimination committee, and some of its constituent internationals themselves still are guilty of bad race practices. But AFL President William Green has twice testified in favor of a permanent federal FEPC, which would forbid discrimination by unions as well as employers." (1)

In the latest FEPC Reference Manual (1948), the AFL is listed among [illegible]:

> "To discriminate against any person or to classify membership so as to deprive such person of employment opportunities or otherwise affect his status as an employee or applicant for employment or his working conditions, because of race, etc." (2)

The FEPC legislation, if passed, might very well prove to be the most convenient solution to the problem of craft union discrimination practiced in the AFL in violation of the Federation's stated national policy.

Discrimination is only a part of the AFL's story with regard to [illegible] (25,000) carry constitutional provisions for assessing a $100 fine against any member who discriminates against a fellow-craftsman because of race, creed, or nationality. The United Mine Workers of America (600,000), though at present an independent union, were associated with the AFL prior to the secession of the CIO. They have likewise enforced a liberal

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(1) Nation, 9/15/47, 33-34

(2) [illegible] Discrimination of the National Communi[illegible]

policy toward the Negro-American miner by the threat of a $100 fine for refusal to work with a Negro union miner. We have already mentioned the policy of the Miners with regard to unionizing Negro and Japanese strike breakers. The International Longshoremen's Association (61,000) has also been mentioned with reference to the organizing of strike breakers. It deserves special mention here because of the rigid fairness in work [illegible] best records in non-discrimination is that of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (325,000). We gave it special mention for the patient policy of organizing strike breakers even though its initial fairness was not successful in preventing Negroes from breaking its strikes.

None of these non-discriminatory unions are classified among the highly skilled crafts. It has been in these crafts that the Negro-American, with the exception of the ante-bellum mechanics in the South, has had the least opportunity and has found the highest trade union barrier erected against him. The highly skilled crafts have, of course, been exclusive, per se, in that they have guarded against overcrowding their various fields by instituting long apprenticeships (1), charging stiff initiation fees to join the union, and limiting the number who may be apprenticed to the union. When it is thus made difficult for the Caucasian to become apprenticed, serve his time, pay his fee, and be admitted into the union, the Negro would certainly find it no easier to gain the same admittance.

The two cities in which our field work has been carried on, Oakland and San Francisco, differ somewhat with regard to the Negro migration phenomenon of the war years. Both cities have witnessed a relatively large

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1) Carpenters, Stonecutters, Sheet Metal Workers, and Marble Polishers have 4 year apprenticeships, Potters and Plumbers 5

[illegible] an migrant group coming in during and after World War II. [illegible] a larger Negro population over a longer period of time [illegible]

[illegible]

THE BUILDING TRADES

Prior to the Civil War the building trades in the South were ly dependent upon Negro artisans, the slaves and freemen furnishing about 83 per cent of the skilled mechanics. Slaves were encouraged to learn the trades and crafts by the owners who profited thereby. Such building trade skills as carpentry, plastering, painting, bricklaying, wagon-making, chair-making, barrel-making, and masonry were exercised by Negroes in the ante-bellum South.

Virginian Robert Beverly owned a Negro carpenter valued at $150 in the seventeenth century. His fellow-colonist, Ralph Wormeley owned a cooper and a carpenter, each valued at $175. Prior to the Revolutionary War the Northern Colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts used Negro slaves as house and ship carpenters, wheelwrights, and coopers. A South Carolina slave owner reported that the Negro mechanics on his plantation in 1791 were the equals in skill and ingenuity of the white mechanics he had formerly employed in New England. An Alabaman purchased an expert Negro carpenter in 1791 for $2000. Richmond County in Virginia issued an official register of free Negroes in 1819 which included twelve carpenters, two millwrights, and a boat corker. In 1835 a boat building establishment on the Flint River had ten or fifteen e artisans and over twenty black artisans working side by side without difficulty. Three carpenters and joiners were reported in New York City around 1840.

So prominent were the Negroes in the skilled crafts, in fact that encountered the determined opposition of the white artisans. The latter secured legislation against the Negro craftsmen in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Georgia. The white mechanics in Ohio organized against the Negro mechanics in the decade between 1820 and 1830. Physical violence

flared up in several Northern cities, as we have mentioned.

It will cause no surprise, then, to learn that the Negro freedman, bereft of his former alliance with the white cavalier of the plantation, fought a losing battle in the field of competition with his white rival. Negro mechanics, who had outnumbered white mechanics five to one in 1865 found themselves in 1890 on the short end of a two to one ratio in plastering and bricklaying, three to one in carpentry, and four to one in painting. New methods in large scale construction were taken over by the white craftsman to the almost complete exclusion of the Negro, leaving him dependent upon his pre-war skills. New crafts, as well as new methods, appeared in plumbing, steam-fitting, and electrical work. The slave had never known these trades. The freeman seldom had the opportunity to be apprenticed in them or to "pick them up" through practical experience. In 1910 he was outnumbered by the white plumber and steamfitter seven to one in the South and fifty to one in the North. The white electrician in 1910 held a favorable ratio of thirty-four to one in the South and one hundred sixty seven to one in the North.

According to the 1940 Occupation Census the white craftsman in the South had reversed the dominance in the Building Trades held by the black artisan in 1865. For the seven following crafts, Carpenters, Painters, Bricklayers, Plasterers and Cement Finishers, Plumbers and Steamfitters, and Electricians the ratio was better than six to one in the Caucasian craftsman's favor.

The fact that four out of five Negro-Americans were still living in the South in 1940 makes the record of the Northern Negro Building Tradesman a bit better than it appears on the surface. Holding only 1.8% of the jobs in the same seven crafts, he nevertheless numbered

[illegible]

[illegible]

The unskilled Negro Building Laborer, however, held 45% of the [illegible] on labor jobs in the South in 194[illegible] and 1[illegible]% of these jobs [illegible]tion as a whole.

More lenient union attitudes and pressure from Negro organizations like the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People may alter the situation in the skilled crafts. FEPC, if enacted, will probably redound to the benefit of the Negro craftsman. A change in political administration, on the other hand, may prove to be disadvantageous to the Negro-American worker. A recession or depression with large scale unemployment would almost certainly be a severe blow to his economic opportunities.

The attitudes of the individual Building Trades Unions have not been the same. We consider them separately in the following [illegible].(1)

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(1) For the facts in this section the writer in indebted to Weaver, 5; Du Bois, 28-37; and Herbert Northrup, Organized Labor and the Negro, 17-22, 43-47

THE UNITED ASSOCIATION OF JOURNEYMAN PLUMBERS AND STEAMFITTERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

1. Plumbers and Steamfitters 38, San Francisco and Oakland
2. Plumbers 444, Oakland
3. Gas Appliance and Stove Fitters 340, Oakland
4. Steamfitters and Refrigeration Workers 342 Oakland

[illegible] the period following the Civil War, which the slave had not known and hich the free Negro-American was rarely given the chance to learn. is a highly skilled union and has been jealously guarded with a rk scarcity philosophy characteristic of craft unionism. Race prejudice was an aid to this philosophy. It was conveniently expressed n the examination boards set up with the intention of eliminating Negroes the craft. Competent Negroes have almost always failed to pass the aminations given by these licensing boards.

[illegible] 9 5 deplores the lack of such an examining board in Danville, Virginia here it was impossible to stop ten Negro plumbers from plying their trade. The same Journal carries a warning from Organizer Burke against plumbers using Negro helpers, thus opening the trade to them. Union ember George G. Jones of Local 91 in Birmingham, Alabama had a letter the Plumber's Journal for March, 19 5 with the same warning. The ter concludes:

> "This is one thing that U.A. members that are now allowing burr heads to carry their tools around, should stop. If they don't stop it now the next question will be, How shall we get rid of the Negro?" (1)

By 1925 the Union had secured license laws and examining boards in y four states and Porto Rico. The Negro plumber is thus excluded rom the Union. If he attempts to work outside the Union, inspectors ally refuse to pass on his work. White plumbers are then hired to a token appearance on the job already successfully completed by Negro plumber. The white plumber, of course, receives the compensa- for the work done by the man originally called to the job.

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(1) Spero and Harris, 477-481 (Appendix III)

[illegible]er method of keeping the non-union Negro plumber out of the field [illegible] the boycott of any plumber's outfitter who sells supplies to Negroes.

[illegible]

> "Most exclusionist of the larger building trades unions is the Plumbers and Steamfitters. To it must go a major portion of the blame for the failure of Negroes to obtain a better representation in this craft. For although it has no rules prohibiting the admission of Negroes, its locals have always practiced exclusion by tacit consent. There may have been Negro union plumbers, but this writer has failed to locate them after a diligent search." (1)

As we bring this search to the San Francisco Bay Area, it may be noted in passing that of California's 11,045 Negroes in the 1900 census 3 were listed as Plumbers and Gas Fitters. Letters reaching Du Bois during the first decade of the twentieth century from Oakland, Los Angeles, Richmond, Sacramento, and San Francisco list Negro craftsmen in the building trades of carpenter, brick-layer, plasterer, cement worker, hod carrier, construction laborer, and electrical worker, but the various labor leaders signing the letters include no mention of Negro plumbers or steamfitters. (2)

Katherine Archibald in her field research at Moore's Dry Dock during World War II found Negroes chiefly occupied in the unskilled shipyard jobs. She did find representatives in every major trade, however, "except steamfitting and pipefitting, from which union regulations excluded them." (3)

As the unprecedented war time labor vacuum continued to draw more and more workers into the mushrooming defense industries, however, Local 590 of the Steamfitters, Oakland and San Francisco, increased

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(1) Northrup, 23
(2) Du Bois, 95-97
(3) Katherine Archibald, _Wartime Shipyard_, 60-61

its membership from a pre-war 400 to a mid-war (1943) 17,000. Many Negroes were having their first union experience in this group, and certainly the Steamfitters had never had so many Negroes working under its jurisdiction. Membership in the Association, however, was in most cases nominal, rather than active. Thousands of Caucasians and Negroes in the shipyards had never held a union card. Many of them were antagonistic to labor unions and the antagonism was often mutual. The FEPC found the Steamfitters refusing to accept Negroes to full membership. Richmond was especially adamant in its local. The Bay Area locals, according to a top FEPC official in an interview with the writer, used the delaying tactics of "stalling" and looking for technicalities. The FEPC was powerless to enforce its wishes in the face of such intransigence, depending upon its good offices in conciliation and friendly settlement of cases brought to its attention. In San Francisco Local 590 refused to accept a Negro Steamfitter in 1942, and refused even to grant work clearance. The Bay Area Council Against Discrimination, however, brought the matter to the attention of the union leadership and the original stand was reversed. The Negro steamfitter was accepted into full membership in Local 590.

During the Steamfitters' strike in the spring of 1945 between 250 and 300 Negroes went out with the Caucasians to fight for the closed shop, even though they had been permitted to work under the open shop. This was done in the interest of labor unity. After the strike was fought to a successful conclusion, the Negroes who had shared the picket line with the Caucasians were denied membership in 590. The Negroes had been promised membership, according to the NAACP official who discussed the matter with the writer. A court injunction was obtained,

[illegible], and the promised participation was forthcoming. All Negroes [illegible] membership were admitted. There was an attempt to form a Jim Crow auxiliary, however, and another injunction was threatened by NAACP. Full [illegible] in the referral system was next on the NAACP list of objectives. The post war period has brought with it thousands of lay-offs at Moore's and at Bethlehem, however, and the union rule of seniority, which the Negro leadership agrees must be maintained as a policy of justice for all members, has eliminated the Negro fitters from both jobs and union memberships.

Plumbers and Steamfitters 38 is now the big union in the Bay Area, to which the writer was referred by the Oakland office of 590. The Urban League had had one experience with Local 38 when a Negro plumber was refused membership. The League threatened suit and the man was accepted. The case was aided, in this instance, by an employer who wanted the Negro plumber for a specific job. This helped the League to secure membership for the applicant. Mr. Neal Kelly, Business Agent for Local 38, explained in an interview with the writer that this one Negro member had transferred his card to another local, but added that 38 had one Chinese member in the union. On the Oakland side of the Bay the office has had no applications from Negroes for the past few months, has no Negro members and no Negro apprentices among [illegible] members.

The writer was not able to detect any attitude of discrimination or antagonism toward the Negro craftsman in the interviews with either San Francisco or Oakland union leaders. At present, however, there are no Negro members working at the trade in Local 38.

Plumbers 444 in Oakland has had three Negro plumbers apply for

ership. All three were issued cards. A Mr. Barter had been sent job just before the writer interviewed Mr. Sam Donohue, Busi- nt for 444. A Mr. Bagley has missed several appointments with ining Board, so is not a member yet, but will be accepted as soon as he keeps his appointment and passes the same examination passed by Barter. The third card issued to a Negro applicant went to an apprentice now in training at Central Trades School. This apprenticeship as a matter of special satisfaction to the President and the Secretary the Alameda County NAACP, since apprenticeship training is one of the ields in which Negro youth has had very little opportunity in the Bay ea. Mr. Donohue seemed more than fair in his attitude, showing regret at Mr. Bagley had not been able to keep his appointments with the amining Board. There was no evidence in his conversation of any willingness to receive Negro applications, apprentices, or members into L

Steamfitters and Refrigeration Workers 342 in Oakland has no Negroes ng its 1000 members and has had no applications for membership by ransfer, examination, or apprenticeship. Mr. John Davy, Business Agent Local 342 was very friendly in the interview with the writer and pressed no antagonism toward the Negro.

Gas Appliance and Stove Fitters 340 has the largest Negro member- ip of the Association in the Bay Area with six Negroes among its 340 mbers. Local 340 reported no difficulty about acceptance or integra- ion of the Negro members into union affiliation.

In summary, with the war boom period over, the Negro has lost the opportunities won through groups like the NAACP, the Bay Area Against Discrimination, and the Urban League. The latter will

oubtedly continue to work on the San Francisco side of the Bay and e former on the Oakland side to provide job opportunities for qualified egro plumbers, steamfitters, and apprentices. The combined factors of war time union antagonism to Negroes and Negro antagonism to unions were partially overcome in the 1945 strike when the two groups battled together for labor union gains. The post-war reluctance of the union to ceptance of Negroes was overcome with the use and threat of the njunction. The problem of fair job referrals was never solved because f the post-war layoffs, hitting the Negroes hardest because of the eniority principle. So far as the future is concerned, the Negro may find some hope in the possible development of the apprentice training rogram for Negro youth. The smattering of members on the Oakland side f the Bay may be a beginning of larger opportunity in an Association long held in very tight Caucasian control. On the whole, however, the present status of the Negro craftsman in this trade is not promising.

There is now as always the possibility of work outside the union, which would seem to be a divisive factor in the labor movement, but which Negro craftsman skilled in the trade have often had to fall back upon if they were not willing to leave the field entirely. One Caucasian contractor, discussing the matter of the competency of Negro building trade craftsmen, told the writer there was one Negro plumber in the Bay Area so efficient that Caucasian contractors competed for his services. The contractor prefers him over any other plumber in his building experience and would select him any time he is available to do a job. This despite the fact that the contractor admits a prejudice toward Negroes. It would seem that such a craftsman would be a credit to the local in his district.

Possibly the apprentice in Local 444 will be but the first of [illegible] his fellows to receive the kind of training that can win [illegible] respect of the contractor and the union member. In [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] would probably be beneficial to all parties concerned.

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. Electrical Workers 50, Oakland
2. Electrical Workers 595, Oakland
3. Electrical Workers 6, San Francisco
4. Electrical Workers 1245 (Radio Local), San Francisco

The Electrical Workers, like the Plumbers and Steamfitters, came into prominence in the period following the Civil War. Electrical work was a part of the new large-scale construction, unfamiliar to the former slave, unavailable to the freedman. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has been classified among the unions practicing exclusion by tacit consent. The Brotherhood has been a means to the end of white domination in the electrical trade. In 1910 there were only 293 Negro electricians in the entire United States. Even in 1940 there were only 1555 in the nation, as compared with 217,075 Caucasian electricians. Proportionally the Negro plumber held a 3-1 edge over the Negro electrician, so the white unionist dominated electricity even more completely than plumbing and steamfitting.

The exclusionism of the Electrical Workers, however, was not so tight as that of the Plumbers and Steamfitters. The color question has been debated in convention and in the union journal from 1899 to the present day among the Electrical Workers. Exclusion has had more unanimity among the Plumbers and Steamfitters.

Mr. Northrup, who found no Negro union plumbers, was more successful in his search for Negro union electricians. He found them in Boston and in Chicago. A Jim Crow auxiliary was even chartered in Chicago by the Brotherhood, although its members are restricted to the Negro district and to work provided by Negro contractors. (1)

The Electrical Workers have attempted to follow the pattern of the Plumbers and Steamfitters with regard to licensing and inspection laws . The results for Negro electricians have been similar, but the legislation has not been so widespread.

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(1) Northrup, 25

The editor of the *Electrical Worker* editorialized in his April issue of 1903:

> "We donot want the Negro in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, but we think they should be organized in locals of their own, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as the organization knows no creed or color." (1)

That this sentiment is still prevelent may be suggested by the incident concerning Local 80 in Norfolk. In May, 1941, twelve Negro ctricians, most of them trained at Hampton Institute, applied for bership in Local 80. The local secretary referred the applications the new International President, E. J. Brown, who urged acceptance nce there was no color bar in the Brotherhood's constitution. He nted out, at the same time, that local autonomy was the final rminant. Local 80 decided upon an auxiliary local for the twelve icants. The Negro electricians rejected this second class membership proposal and proved their worth by organizing a company and obtain- more than $45,000 in war contracts.

President Brown's description of the Brotherhood's policy, "-discrimination because of race, color, or creed", is a description, h, as Northrup points out, "will have little effect in altering the ost universal rule that IBEW locals do not admit Negro building hanics." (2)

Weaver cites an instance of war time application of Executive Order 302 in the RCA factory in Indianapolis. Management took the initiative this instance, fearing the possible walk out of the white workers in I. The international representative of the union affirmed these fears, t countered with an acknowledgment of the union's responsibility in

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(1) [illegible]
(2) [illegible]

problem. Working gradually over a full year's time management and the IBEW were able to cooperate on the integration in March, 1943, of 182 Negroes, all hired simultaneously. Significantly, only 29 of the 182 were unskilled workers. The white members of IBEW did not stop work.

As to California and the Bay area, although the 1940 census lists no Negro electricians, in or out of unions, the Los Angeles Labor Council in correspondence with W.E.B. Du Bois stated that there were Negro members of the IBEW, though he did not know the exact number. (1) Oakland, San Francisco, and Richmond in the Bay Area mention no Negro electricians in the 1912 correspondence with Du Bois.

Oakland's Local 50 of the IBEW lists no Negroes among its 250 members. Mr. F. E. Rockwell, Business Agent for Local 50, stated that he had no personal knowledge of Negro members in other areas nor ofany Negroes in the jurisdiction of unions doing the type of work covered by Local 50. This is outside work in which the men are often "trouble-shooters", assigned to work on dangerous high voltage wires. Mr. Rockwell suggested this danger as a possible deterrent to Negro workers entering the field. At any rate, to Mr. Rockwell's knowledge it is a trade the Negro has not entered.

Oakland's Local 595 is the Marine Division assigned to Shipyard work. During the war period the membership of Local 595 reached 8000. Mr. William Smock, Business Agent of the Union, explained that new applicants were given a three month work permit, then were initiated into the local. About 300 Negroes became full members of Local 595 during the war. Between 250 and 300 others worked on the permit, but did not remain long enough to become initiated. Thus there were between 550 and 600 Negroes working with the 7400 whites, also divided between full

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(1) Du Bois, 96

membership and permit cards. Mr. Smock found no problem with the integration of the Negro electrical worker or union member. It is his firm conviction that Negroes are good union men and whites are too. This, he felt, accounted for there being no trouble in Local 595. The post-war membership of Local 595 has dropped from 8000 to 1700 (May, 1948). The peak count of 550 to 600 Negro electrical workers has dropped to 50. Shipyard work had naturally declined following the war, accounting for the loss of 6300 workers from Local 595. Mr. Smock finds no difference between the Negro and the Caucasian union man as to attendance, interest, and activity in union meeting.

Electrical Workers 6 in San Francisco had an experience quite similar to Local 595 in Oakland. During the war the membership hit a peak of 6,500 including 300 Negro members of the union. The percentage of Negro members carrying over into the post-war period is larger in Local 6 than in Local 595. The membership of 6 had dropped to 2900 in May, 1948, but of the 300 Negro war time members there were still 100 holding full membership in Local 6. Against the background of exclusion associated with the Brotherhood this must be regarded as a gain for the Negro electrical worker.

Electrical Workers 202 in San Francisco is a local doing work comparable to Local 50 in Oakland, and, as already pointed out in the reporting of Mr. Rockwell's experience, there are no Negroes in this field, either in Local 50 or among the 650 members of Local 202.

Electrical Workers 1245 is a radio local and has no Negroes among its members.

In summary, the prospects for Negro electrical workers in the

Bay Area seems fairly good in the Marine Division locals, but there is no apparent future in the "outside" or radio locals. The picture, from the standpoint of the Negro is not satisfactory, of course, but with all factors considered, it is not discouraging. The public may be a factor in helping the Negro secure job opportunities by accepting Negro electricians in their homes when they are sent out on an assignment. A representative of management in the electrical field felt that management and labor both encountered the problem of prejudiced rejection of Negro electricians on the part of the public. This had been his own experience during several years in the electrical business.

THE UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA

1. Carpenters 36, Oakland
2. Carpenters 1158, Berkeley
3. Carpenters 1622, Hayward
4. Carpenters 1473, Fruitvale
5. Carpenters 194, Alameda
6. Shinglers 478, Oakland
7. Dry Dock and Marine Waysmen 3116, Oakland and San Francisco
8. Shipwrights, Joiners, Boatbuilders, Millmen, and Loftsmen 1149, Oakland and San Francisco
9. Pile Drivers 34, Oaklandand San Francisco
10. Ship Caulkers 554, Oakland and San Francisco
11. Carpenters 22, San Francisco
12. Carpenters 483, San Francisco
13. Carpenters 2164, San Francisco

carpenter's trade in the ante-bellum South. The new post-war emphasis on large scale construction gave the Caucasian carpenter an opportunity to monopolize the new skills involved, which he proceeded to do.

Although the Boston Union of Carpenters and Joiners had two Negro members in 1866, it was 1886 before the organization of Negro carpenters was undertaken on any notable scale. The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, organized at Chicago in 1881, counted 14 Negro locals in its membership in 1886. This was sufficient to lead to the declaration that in this year the color line in labor "had been broken and all were working in a common cause". (1) By 1900, however, only 1000 of the 29,000 Negro carpenters in the nation were affiliated with the Carpenters and Joiners. Most of these were organized in separate locals, which aided the white carpenters in what amounted to dominance, if not monopoly, in the trade.

The Caucasian locals were larger, stronger, favored by the Caucasian contractor, the Caucasian labor leader, and the Caucasian law maker. Negro union members have not been given their fair share of work allotments. Contractors have often refused to employ them. Caucasian labor councils have passed rulings restricting them to the Negro section of the city. Caucasian law makers have put similar rulings into municipal ordinances.

The unfair treatment accorded the Negro members of the Brotherhood caused a decline from an estimated 39 Negro locals in 1912 to 14 Negro locals in 1926. The depression period of the 'thirties saw the disappearance of most of the locals reported in 1926. Federal Housing

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(1) Wesley, 255

bureaus gave the Negro carpenter a much needed opportunity to work during [illegible] contracts guaranteeing the Negro craftsmen a proportional share of Federal Housing payrolls.

It was World War II, however, which accorded the Negro carpenter his largest opportunity in the history of the craft. Army cantonments were going up all over the South. Nine months before Pearl Harbor 2500 Negro carpenters were at work at various forts in the South. The Negro local in New Orleans added 575 new members to its pre-war 125. Pressure was necessary at Camp Robinson, Arkansas, Camp Gordon, Georgia, Fort Riley, Missouri, and Camp Leonard Wood, Missouri. In each case the pressure was applied by the government, the Urban League, the Negro press, and interested citizens. In each case Negroes in large numbers were hired. (1)

Successful discrimination on the part of Brotherhood locals was practiced, however, in Jackson, Tennessee, Washington, D.C., St. Louis, Missouri, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Mobile, Alabama, Little Rock, Arkansas, and Atlanta and Savannah, Georgia. (2)

Mixed locals, especially in the North and West, have been on the increase of late, which, while it does not eliminate discrimination in job allotments and lay-offs, does give the Negro union member a better chance to hear about available jobs and an opportunity to speak out in union meetings.

The mixed union has led in numerous instances to protection for Negro members of the local under equal pay and equal work contracts. The dispatchers can help or hinder the actual working out of the contract

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(1) Weaver, 28-32
(2) Northrup, 31-32

ay to day job assignments. A prejudiced dispatcher often makes it lt for Negro members to secure their fair share of jobs. A who does not discriminate can give the Negro member equal job [illegible]

[illegible] mber mill from 1942 to 1946 has been an expensive and difficult venture. uthern management has often resorted to the tactic of waiting until mill is organized, then closing the mill and transferring production an unorganized mill. It is to the credit of the Brotherhood that have spent the necessary funds in a costly campaign. It is also to their credit that in the Arkansas lumber mill area they have organized 000 mill workers, 50 per cent of whom are Negroes. (1)

As for California and the Bay Area, the 19[illegible] census lists 41 rpenters and joiners among the Negro craftsmen in the State. Oakland nd San Francisco reported to Du Bois in 1912 that there were few Negro killed workers in the Bay Area. Industrial training was mentioned as factor favorable to Negro youth entering the skilled trades. The next entence, however, commented on the fact that Negro artisans were not ving much success in the trades because they were barred from the bor unions. Oakland, San Francisco, and Richmond Labor Councils ntioned Negro union members in certain other building trades, but me in the Carpenters and Joiners. (2)

In discussing the matter with Mr. Vane V. Dart, Business Agent for kland's Local 36, it would seem that Negroes, prior to World War II, d not been numerous in East Bay Carpenters' locals. 36, which,

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(1) AFL Southern Policy Committee, [illegible]?, 5
(2) Du Bois, 51, 95-97

[illegible] to the agents and representatives of other locals, has the [illegible]

937. These men were organized by Mr. Dart, praised by Mr. George laker, Business Agent for Shinglers 478, as "an excellent man to help the Negro". Mr. Dart started the organizing of Negro carpenters by taking the men employed by Negro contractors as apprentices, one at a time. Gradually there were five, six, twelve full members.

[illegible]

take any and all available workers. Among these were Negroes who had never had an opportunity to become highly skilled craftsmen before the war. During the war and right up to the present (May, 1948) these Negro members had opportunities to pick up skills on the job, white carpenters often taking an interest in helping them to perfect their skills. Local 36 had a high of 600 Negro members during the peak of the war emergency.

White acceptance of the Negro union member in Local 36 came with the war. There was some opposition within the Local to unskilled Negroes getting the same job assignments as the skilled white union members were getting. The official policy of the District, in fact, favored the use of a permit system, using the Negroes during the emergency and dropping them afterward. The majority of the members of Local 36, however, were in favor of taking the Negroes into full membership in the union. The National Brotherhood sided with the majority in Local 36 in the controversy. It was a tough battle in the beginning, but became increasingly

er. In May of 1948 there were 400 Negro carpenters in Local 36 of a membership of 3200. Several of the Negroes have become r men, but it has proved very difficult to advance Negro union members to the position of steward. There are only four Negro stewards in Local 36. Negro members have been present in the Council during the past two years, two serving at present. A Negro member was sent as an official delegate of Local 36 to the State Convention of the Brotherhood last year.

Local 36 faces several difficulties in the matter of fully integrating Negro carpenters in the East Bay labor picture. Mr. Allen Johnson, a very capable young leader in Local 36, commented, during an interview with the writer, on the lack of central control over the scattered carpenter locals in the East Bay. Operating on the principle of the union shop, Local 36 does not control the hiring of carpenters. Most employers discriminate and since Local 36 is not the only available source of supply, the employer threatens to pick up a crew in Hayward, Fruitvale, Alameda, or Berkeley. Local 36 has lost jobs for its members in its attempts to provide jobs to Negro and white alike on an impartial basis.

Another difficulty is the lack of any definite referral system, traceable, as Mr. Johnson pointed out, to the early formation of the Carpenters and Joiners when Scandinavians and Germans were the backbone of the organization. Among these early unionists there was no hiring ll tradition. They went by the "hustling concept", the men going out r the jobs, rather than waiting for the calls to come in. This has de the present situation difficult for the Negro unionist, even though

the 400 now affiliated are full members, not shunted off into a Jim Crow auxiliary. The small hiring hall they do maintain has Negroes in the majority of those waiting. This was the case on the morning the writer visited the hall, although the number of both groups was small, not over twenty, and the ratio was about twelve to eight of Negro over white. The fraternal spirit apparent in the room gave every indication of successful integration.

Another difficulty alluded to by Mr. Dart is the present problem of improving the skills and increasing the education of Negro members ofthe union. Some of the Negroes coming out of the South's inadequate educational system were severely handicapped in the simplest fundamentals of the "3-Rs". No man can be expected to compete in the labor market with well educated and highly skilled carpenters and joiners without these rudiments of educational background. Mr. Dart has been encouraged by the help given the Negroes by the white members in making job opportunities for Negro members and helping them to hold the jobs.

It might seem superfluous to add here that Local 36 has a good reputation with Negro-Americans for fair treatment. This reputation was found by the writer outside the union among both white and Negro leaders, labor and non-labor. The outstanding Negro union leader and NAACP President in the County gave Local 36 a clean bill of health for fairplay in dispatching. This reputation is further borne out by the transfer of most of the Negroes from Richmond's local union to 36.

Of the other Carpenters' locals, Berkeley 1158 has the reputation of fairly good treatment toward its Negro membership, constituting [illegible]

20 of the 300 in the local. Alameda Local 194 has about 20 in its membership of 200. Fruitvale 1473 has about 20 in 800 members. Hayward 1622 has 800 members and no Negroes. Discriminatory employers go to these locals for crews if 36 does not provide all white carpenters. The Hayward local is composed chiefly of Caucasians of Danish ancestry who have successfully opposed the entry of Negroes into their local.

Mr. George Blaker, Business Agent of Shinglers 478 and former member of Local 36, regretted that 478 did not have the record for helping the Negro-American that 36 has. He spoke very highly of Mr. Dart and his efforts on the Negro carpenter's behalf. Mr. Blaker feels that the chief problem lies with discriminatory employers. Most of them specify white workmen when they phone into the dispatching office. When they do not specify and Negroes are referred, they either reject them immediately or hire them and fire them later in the day with the explanation that they are no longer needed. Mr. Blaker observed, however, that [illegible] have given Negro craftsmen a trial, they use them straight through the duration of the job without any trouble. 478 had a few Negroes during the war, but had none in April, 1948. Mr. Blaker mentioned the part played by dispatchers who were favorable to the Negro union members, naming them, but requesting anonymity for [illegible] protect their security. He felt that there had been a general improvement for the Negro in carpentry during 1947 and 1948.

Piledrivers 34, Oakland and San Francisco, are credited by others in the Brotherhood with "making the biggest fight first". John [illegible], a Business Agent, was mentioned in this struggle. A committee of one hundred unionists formed to keep Negroes out, but the leadership

favorable to the Negro's admission emphasized a slogan involving discrimination against the union card rather than discrimination against race. This was a successful technique. Mr. George Hayward, Secretary of the Education Council of Local 34, estimated a Negro membership of 700 out of the total membership of 2000. Mr. Hayward indicated that Negro integration in Local 34 was a problem at first, but once the rank and file Caucasian union member had experienced fellowship in the union with the Negro unionist, the problem was reduced to a few isolated cases of individual prejudice among white unionists. It is interesting to note, in passing, that during World War I a crew of twelve Negro pile drivers employed by the McMullen Company on Shipway 46, Philadelphia, broke the world's pile-driving record. The previous record of 165 piles driven in 9 hours was broken when Edward Burwell and his eleven crew members drove 220 65-foot piles in 9 hours and five minutes. (1)

Local 3116, Dry Dock and Marine Waysmen, Oakland and San Francisco, according to their Secretary Mr. Clyde Peter, were organized three years prior to World War II. During the war peak membership reached 4000, of whom 500 were Negroes. In April, 1948 the membership of Local 3116 was down to 600, 120 of whom were Negroes. Mr. Peter stated that the Negro union members attended meetings well and that [illegible] union leader held the position of Conductor on the Executive Board, his office having to do with the presentation of candidates for initiation into the local. The experience of 3116 was almost exactly parallel to that of Piledrivers 34. Initial reluctance to accept Negro members was overcome as the white membership met and came to know the Negro as a member of the union. Again the problem was reduced to a very few cases of individual prejudice among

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(1) Wesley, 297

the Caucasian membership.

The Shipwrights, Joiners, Boatbuilders, Millmen, and Loftsmen 1149, Oakland, [redacted] Agent of Local 1149, indicated in an interview with the writer that both the policy and the Executive Committee had been changed during the war. After these changes the adjustment between Negro and Caucasian was "practically painless". Of the 2500 members in 1149 in April, 1948 there were 500 Negro union members. Their attendance at union meetings is about the same as that of their white fellow-unionists, both making loyal union members. There is no problem among the rank and file of either group about the policy of the mixed local.

Spero and Harris mention Negro ship caulkers in Ohio in 1865 where the white caulkers struck "to maintain the superiority of white men", when a Negro foreman was employed at Canton. They are mentioned again in connection with their importation from Portsmouth, Virginia, to break a white caulkers' strike for the eight hour day in Boston in 1867. (1) There are no Negro members among the 100 members of Ship Caulkers Local 554 in Oakland and San Francisco. The second oldest local in the State, chartered in 1853, it is unfortunately falling victim to technological displacement, the members being limited to jobs on barges and yachts. There would be no particular point in endeavoring to establish an entering wedge for Negro workers in Local 554, since it has been so materially reduced in membership and opportunity, and would certainly be bound by the principle of seniority to direct what job allotments do come in to the old established skilled caulkers.

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(1) Spero and Harris, 17-18

On the San Francisco side of the Bay several interviews indicated that the Negro had likewise played no part in the Carpenters and Joiners prior to the recent war. The acute demand for workmen relaxed examining board restrictions just as it had in Oakland. The same demand made acceptance of the Negro carpenter possible during the emergency period. The post war has also brought a reduction in membership to the San Francisco locals, and a drop out of Negro union members. Carpenters 483 with 1225 members has about 10 per cent Negro membership. Three of these were placed recently, after some reluctance on the part of Local 483, by the good offices of the San Francisco Urban League. Mr. Donald Glover, who is handling the labor relations activities of the Urban League, indicated in an interview with the writer that in twelve different cases involving union acceptance of Negro workers the union representatives had set aside initial reluctance to accept the Negro in all twelve cases. One of these cases involved the three Negro carpenters mentioned above in the case of Local 483.

Carpenters 22 has 50 Negroes in a membership of 2600. Negro carpenters have been integrated without difficulty and are good union men. Attendance of Negro members is not noticeably different from attendance of Caucasian members. Local 22 is not a counterpart of Oakland's 36 is the sense that any positive effort is being made on behalf of Negro integration into the labor movement in general and the Carpenters and Joiners in particular; it seems to have taken the matter "in stride", as the saying goes. Local 22 has not been the source of any complaints by Negro applicants or Negro members to the Urban League's office.

Carpenters 2164 with a membership of 900 has four Negro members. One of these was refused b Local 2164, but again through the Urban League's Mr. Glover the matter was ironed out to the satisfaction of all concerned, and the Negro carpenter's application accepted. Local 2164's secretary explained in an office interview with the writer that the union was composed of older carpenters with highly developed skills and pride in their craft. Not many Negro carpenters in the war influx came with these skills, as Mr. Dart of Oakland's 36 had pointed out, and as a consequence there were not many applicants to 2164.

In round numbers the combined estimates of the locals contacted amounts to 15,000 union members. The same estimates for the Negro union membership amounts to 2,000 men. The ratio of 7½ to 1 is a favorable one in the light of population proportions. The figure also constitutes almost clear gain for the Negro carpenter over the pre-war status. The support of the Urban League in San Francisco and Local 36 in Oakland are favorable to the Negro carpenter. The degree of integration achieved in eight of the locals discussed, while not up to the standard possible in the future, is, nevertheless a step toward that future standard.

On the other hand, the Negro's lack of skill and education has made his task and the union's task difficult. The instances when Negro workers have not performed satisfactorily, for any one of several reasons, have not made matters any easier for the Caucasian carpenters who are trying to help their cause along. Employers who specify "all white" or reject Negroes when sent out on referral have added to the weight of the problem for both the Negro and his union. Union leaders and union members who

cooperate with such employers by furnishing "all white" crews naturally preserve the discriminatory pattern. This is especially hard to overcome under the union shop policy, for the union does not control the hiring.

It would seem fairly certain that an economic depression would threaten the Negro-American's gains in the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in the San Francisco Bay Area. Appeals for labor unity, fairness in upgrading, hiring, and firing, and the influence of white and Negro leadership, both inside and outside the labor movement, may mitigate these potential losses in some degree, but failure to provide full employment will probably be felt first and felt with greatest severity by minority groups in our economy.

The study of this particular Brotherhood has left the writer with an evaluation of some slight progress in the Negro worker's favor.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS, AND PAPERHANGERS OF AMERICA

1. Painters 127, Oakland
2. Painters 40, Berkeley
3. Painters 1178, Oakland
4. Auto and Ship Painters 1176, Oakland
5. Ship and House Painters 560, Oakland
6. Sign Painters 878, Oakland
7. Carpet, Linoleum, and Tile Workers 1290, Oakland
8. Paint Makers 1101, Oakland
9. Painters 1158, San Francisco
10. Painters 19, San Francisco
11. Auto Painters 1073, San Francisco
12. Ship Painters 961, San Francisco
13. Sign, Scene, and Picture Painters 510, San Francisco
14. Carpet, Linoleum, and Tile Workers 1235, San Francisco
15. Paint Makers 1071, San Francisco
16. Varnishers and Polishers 134, San Francisco

Among the Negro artisans dominating the building trades in the ante-bellum South were the Negro painters. In the post-war period, however, the Caucasian painter came into the dominant position. The Brotherhood of Painters has a history of discrimination against the Negro painter not unlike that of the Carpenters toward the Negro craftsman in their trade. Organization of Negro union painters was a policy of the Brotherhood prior to 1910 and colored organizers helped in the campaign. After 1910 the interest in this organizing program declined and by 1926 the National Urban League's Ira Reid could find only 718 Negro union painters, less than 0.5 per cent of the national membership. (1)

The Painters have followed the practice of organizing Negro auxiliaries more widely than the Carpenters. The power of the Painters' locals has been even more autonomous than that already alluded to in the section on the Carpenters. Locals could and did refuse Negroes membership and refuse them a charter to form a separate local, reducing the Negro painter to non union work exclusively. Amendments to the Painters' constitution during the 1941 convention have been of some help to Negroes who desired to form separate locals.

The Painters have employed a very successful technique known as the form contract, by which the contractor must take all his painters from one particular local. Separate Negro locals can thus be completely excluded by contract from any share in such job opportunities.

District Councils, while they have discriminated in many cases against separate Negro locals in the Council, have in New York, Chicago, and Kansas City won the approval of even so severe a union critic as

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(1) Northrup, 34

Northrup. (1)

In the San Francisco Bay Area the survey made by Du Bois in the first decade of the 20th century mentions unorganized Negro painters in Oakland, credited by the anonymous labor leader who wrote the report as "very good workmen"..."no line of skill in which the Negro may not attain efficiency". The letter explains that the barrier to membership in the union is "racial" and suggests auxiliary locals in the interest of preventing "scabbing" and promoting labor unity. (2)

Most of the Negro union painters in the Bay Area in 1948 were there as a result of the war. Mr. Clarence Vezey, Secretary of District Council 16 in the East Bay, before giving the figures on Negro membership to the writer, explained that the trained Negro painters stayed in the Southern States during the war. The unskilled worker came to the Bay Area. This made assimilation in an already closed craft all the more difficult. Skilled Caucasians resented the presence of the unskilled Negro on the job and in the union hall. The Negro Ship Painters have attained the necessary skills in greater degree than the Negro House Painters. The result has been that the Caucasian Ship Painter has not objected to the Negro union member. The Caucasian House Painter, on the other hand, has been undergoing a new experience in the problem of assimilating the less skilled Negro House Painter during the war emergency. It has been difficult for both, although they do meet in the same union hall, and there has been no attempt to Jim Crow the Negro painter.

Ship and House Painters 560 in Oakland had 1000 members during the war. 300 were Negroes. The membership in April, 1948 had dropped to 475.

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(1) Northrup, 36
(2) Du Bois, 95

The Negro membership had shown an even greater proportional drop to 50 members. Acceptance in this local was not difficult.

Ship Painters 961 in San Francisco had about 2000 members during the war. 400 were Negroes. In the present membership of 800, however, there are 250 Negroes. Mr. Seaman, Local 961's International Representative and Mr. O'Day, the Business Agent, were credited by Mr. Glover of the Urban League with an excellent job of integration. During the war the permit system was followed, but toward the war's close these leaders made possible the full acceptance of Negroes. There is still some difficulty of acceptance, unfortunately for the Negro unionist and the solidarity principle. In fact, a slate of officers was announced for a coming election in 961 who were pledged to remove all Negroes from the local. This situation is complicated for the whites who are working for solidarity by the non-attendance of the 250 Negro members at the union meetings. It was brought to the attention of the NAACP in both San Francisco and Oakland that Negro members of 961 were not attending meetings. When the issue of giving Negro painters some of the better jobs on a fairer allotment basis reached the union floor, only six Negroes were present. During a two hour debate on this issue no Negro spoke. The Oakland and San Francisco offices of NAACP called the members of 961 living in their cities to their respective offices to counsel them about the importance of taking an interest in the union and attending the meetings. Not many responded but the two offices were hopeful that those who came might become a leadership nucleus around whom better participation would develop.

Auto and Ship Painters 1176 in Oakland had 1000 members during the war. 300 were Negroes. The post-war drop took away 500 members, 200 of

whom were Negroes, leaving 100 in the present membership. Integration was comparatively easy.

Auto Painters 1073 in San Francisco has a membership of 1400, 12 of whom are Negroes, indicating that the Negro has found a larger place in Ship Painting than he has in Auto Painting. The acceptance of the dozen Negro members has been accomplished without visible difficulty, so far as the district and local leadership has been able to observe.

Painters 127 in Oakland, a House Painters local, has 1200 members and 12 Negroes. Oakland's 1178 has only one Negro member in 255. Berkeley's Local 40 has 423 members and no Negroes. The Berkeley local is Mr. Vezey's own local. He has followed the practice of urging each Negro applicant to get a job before he pays the $52.50 initiation fee, rather than to take the fee and not be certain of providing the new member with a job. Berkeley is up against the complete discrimination of employers, even the lone Negro contractor specifying that the crew sent out must be "all white".

The Negro House Painter in San Francisco has fared a little better than his fellow painter across the Bay. In Local 19 there are 30 Negroes among the 1400 members and in Local 1158 there are 100 Negroes among the 1600 members. Local 19 used to use the permit system, denying full membership to the Negro House Painter, but the Urban League reports the recent acceptance of seven Negro painters to full membership, the number having increased on May, 1948, to the 30 reported above.

Carpet, Linoleum, and Tile Locals 1290, Oakland, and 1235, San Francisco, with 160 and 225 members respectively, have no Negroes. Mr. Earl Murray reported that Local 1290 had had only one Negro applicant

during the several years of his union membership. The applicant was referred to the San Francisco local where he was rejected. During the writer's visits to the various local offices, the gentleman in Local 1235's San Francisco office questioned the advisability of doing a study on the Negro's relationship to the labor movement, because it might stir up trouble.

Sign Painters 878 in Oakland has no bar against Negroes, but has no Negro members. Sign, Scene, and Picture Painters 510 in San Francisco has no color bar, either. In fact, Mr. Richard Wendelt, Business Agent, told the writer in his office that the local has Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and South Americans. He praised, especially, the workmanship of his Chinese members. Mr. Wendelt believes that the Negro has not had sufficient education and apprentice opportunity to perfect the skills necessary to a good craftsman in his local. During a friendly and unhurried interview Mr. Wendelt was fair enough to admit that he was somewhat prejudiced toward the Negro and would not find it easy to accept him into full membership in Local 510. He felt that employers shared his feeling and would not want Negro workmen referred to them on job requests. 878 has 300 members. 510 has 420.

Mr. Young, Secretary of District 8 in San Francisco, spoke in much the same vein as Mr. Vezey of District 16. He felt that the uneducated and unskilled Negro had come to the Bay Area during the war and left his skilled fellow-Negro behind him in the South. He agreed with Mr. Wendelt that the Negro had not been given the rudimentary education necessary even to the semi-skilled worker, let alone the skilled craftsman.

Varnishers and Polishers 134 in San Francisco has recently accepted a Negro into full membership through the offices of the Urban League.

In the matter of hiring and referrals, the Ship Painters follow the practice of "first come, first served", no discrimination. The House Painters can solicit work, much as the Carpenters do with their "hustling" technique, and then get clearance from the local. If a call does come into the local hall, any member in the hall who happens to be on hand when the call comes in gets the job; again, no discrimination.

Paint Makers 1101 had no Negro members before the war. Financial Secretary Louis Pape pointed out that it was strictly a war time phenomenon with Local 1101. Integration has been relatively painless and there are 50 Negro members out of 570. An example of employer cooperation was reportedby Mr. Pape in the case of Sherwin-Williams Company, with whom the entire 50 Negro members find their employment. Paint Makers 1071 on the other side of the Bay in San Francisco has 500 members. The ratio of 15 Negro members is not a result of the war. This proportion wasin evidence before, during, and after the war. Mr. Shoop, Business Agent for Local 1071, added in the report to the writer that there is no place on the membership applications to denote race, color, or creed.

In summary the Negro's gains in this trade have been largest in Ship Painting, more encouraging on the San Francisco side in House Painting, fairly good on both sides in Paintmaking, and there have not even been beginnings in Sign Painting or among the Carpet, Linoleum, and Tile craftsmen.

In view of the unskilled condition of the Negroes who migrated to Oakland and San Francisco during the war these gains are not without encouragement for the future of the Negro-American in the trade.

THE BRICKLAYERS, MASONS, AND PLASTERERS INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA

1. Bricklayers 8, Oakland
2. Bricklayers 7, San Francisco

[illegible] Old South were slaves and freemen with the skill of the brickmason. Unlike the Carpenters and Painters unions, however, the Bricklayers began as early as 1870 on the national level to achieve union equality for Negro bricklayers. Independent locals denying the Negro membership were denied membership in the Bricklayers. Affiliated locals were forced to remove color bars from their constitution and by-laws. In place of the almost complete autonomy of Carpenters' and Painters' locals the Bricklayers' International had achieved a centralization of power strong enough to grant a charter to a Negro local despite the objections of a Caucasian local in the same area, to prohibit the local union from "blackballing" an applicant on any grounds except incompetency, and to provide a fine of $100 for discrimination because of race or color.

The centralization of power was not absolute, of course. Caucasian bricklayers have refused to work with Negroes in both the South and the North despite the laws against discrimination passed in the 1903 convention. Caucasians have silently left the job when Negroes appeared. This is a technique which makes it difficult to prove discrimination. Most Negroes would probably hesitate to accuse a white in any case, but this would be especially true in this case, for the Bricklayers provide that accusation without proof renders the accuser liable to union discipline.

Discrimination among the Bricklayers has been nearer the exception than the rule, and, all things considered, the Negro Bricklayer has not done badly in his union. Compared with the four unions discussed above the Negro Bricklayer has been well treated. As Northrup says:

> "Of the 3,641 Negroes employed on 277 USHA projects up to January 1, 1941, 1,054, approximately 30 per cent, were bricklayers. Yet less than 13 per cent of all Negro craftsmen are bricklayers." (1,

Sterling Brown reports the following bit of conversation from a Negro bricklayer, indication the difference between his working environment and his social environment:

> "I know one local where white and colored work together on the same scaffold, meet together in the same hall. They all kid and joke together. As a generalrule there is brotherliness. Of course when the whistle blows,that just about ends. But the Negroes do have the whites' respect as good bricklayers." (2)

The Bay Area situation in this particular union does not follow in the pattern of its historical tradition. The Negro bricklayer came into the San Francisco local for the first time during World War II. In an interview with Mr. Harry Kingman, FEPC administrator whose jurisdiction included the Bay Area, the writer learned that one of the FEPC cases found the Bricklayers accepting the Negro for the first time in the West Bay local. The Business Agent serving Local 7 in 1948, on the other hand, is favorable to Negro bricklayers and opposed to employer discrimination against hiring them. Local 7 has only 3 Negro members in its 300, but employers control hiring in this trade, leaving the local with almost no opportunities to receive Negro applications. Mr. Joe Mazza assured the writer during an interview that Local 7 would accept Negro bricklayers gladly if only the employers followed the more liberal policy of the Los Angeles area. Mr. Mazza pointed out that there were a good many Negro bricklayers in the Los Angeles division.

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(1) Northrup, 40-41
(2) Survey Graphic, November, 1942, 481

Mr. Mazza emphasized the position of the Bricklayers International as set forth above, stressing the fact that it was against the laws of the Union to discriminate against an applicant on the basis of race or color.

The writer discussed Local 8 in Oakland with Mr. Vanderhoogen, Business Agent, and Mr. Thompson, Financial Secretary. The war period did not bring Negro bricklayers into the area, or, if it did, they did not work at the trade. Local 8's ten Negro members did not come in during the war, but in the post-war period. They have been transfers from out of town locals. Mr. Thompson stressed the point made by Mr. Mazza of Local 7 that the applications of Negro bricklayers simply have not appeared. Those who have were accepted without question and will be accepted in the future. The Caucasian members of Local 8 work beside Negro members without discrimination or incident. The point of employer hiring was also made by Mr. Thompson as a possible explanationof the small number of Negroes in Local 8's membership of 300.

The Bay Area seems to reflect Northrup's conclusion with regard to the future of the Negro bricklayer. The decline in the proportion of Negro bricklayers during the past half century has not been due to the policies of the Bricklayers' International. The future proportion will depend upon the apprentice training opportunities and employer hiring practices. The writer would hesitate to predict much of a change in this trade in the San Francisco-Oakland area.

THE INTERNATIONAL HOD CARRIERS, BUILDING AND COMMON LABORERS' UNION OF AMERICA

1. Hod Carriers 166, Oakland
2. Laborers 304, Oakland
3. Hod Carriers 36, San Francisco
4. Laborers 261, San Francisco

Mr. C. L. Dellums, President of the County Chapter of NAACP and also President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, observed during an interview with the writer that the matter of Negro membership in the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union was not a problem. This work is heavy, unskilled, undesirable, and therefore falls readily into the category often labelled "Negro work".

A strong organization program inthis International from 1936 to 1941 brought the membership to a new high of 250,000, 70,000 of whom were Negroes. There are an additional 185,000 organizable construction laborers in the country, only 17,000 of whom are Negroes, giving the Negro construction laborer a rather high organization percentage.

Laborers 304 of Oakland had a Negro membership amounting to 15 per cent of its total before World War II. The war brought the ratio up to 65 per cent. Of the 3400 on the present membership roll 2210 are Negroes. Mr. John Peregoy, Business Agent of 304, introduced the writer to Mr. Leon Daniels, Negro President of Local 304, who spoke with pride of the members who had traveled to other states and kept up their dues in Local 304 in the event of a possible return to Oakland. One such member had already been away for two years. Mr. Daniels mentioned the popularity of the local with Negro workers. The organization has had a number of transfers from other unions since the war. Mr. Peregoy and Mr. Daniels took the writer into the dispatching office to show him the plug board referral system in operation there. When a worker comes in after a completed job, his name is written on a small wooden plug, which is then inserted in the last spot on the board to await its turn on job dispatching. As jobs come in, the dispatcher removes the plug from the

right hand side of the top row and calls out the name written on it. This assures every member of absolute fairness in referral. The San Francisco Laborers' Local 261 has a plug board system, also, as the writer discovered during his visit to the Building Trades Temple. Local 261 has a Negro membership of 1120 out of the union total of 3200, a 35 per cent ratio. William Shepherd of Local 261 is on the Sponsoring Committee to set up a San Francisco Negro Labor Committee.

Hod Carriers 166 of Oakland had 10 Negro members before the recent war. The number stood at 50 out of 300 in May, 1948. Mr. A.B. Silva, Business Agent, of 166, reported that Negro members in the union attend meetings well and are good union men.

Hod Carriers 36 in San Francisco had 12 Negroes in its membership in May, 1948. There had been some question about three of these, but the Urban League reported acceptance by Local 36, all three being placed in jobs. The local had 400 members at the time.

Mr. Dellums' introductory remarks in this section seem to have been supported, in the main, by the writer's findings. Job opportunities for Negroes in this union appear to be fairly safe.

THE OPERATIVE PLASTERERS' AND CEMENT FINISHERS' INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

1. Plasterers 112, Oakland
2. Cement Finishers 594, Oakland
3. Plasterers 66, San Francisco
4. Cement Finishers 580, San Francisco

Like the Bricklayers the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers International provides a fine of $100 to be assessed in any case where a member by refusing to work with another member because of race, creed, or nationality causes him to lose his job. The charge must be proven to the satisfaction of the Executive Board.

Negro plasters, like Negro bricklayers, were dominant in their field in the pre-Civil War South. They earned their freedom in many instances by plying their trade and helped to form one of the first craft unions in the South, the Plasterers local in New Orleans, which has always had a large number of Negro members.

Like the Bricklayers, again, the Plasterers have been comparatively fair to Negro craftsmen. Mixed locals have been the rule, Northrup noting only two exceptions in his nation-wide survey. (1)

Most successful of all Negro craftsmen during the pre-war housing boom, 45 per cent of the Negro building tradesmen employed on USHA projects prior to January 1, 1941 were plasters or cement finishers. (2)

As for California and the Bay Area, there were 20 Negro plasterers listed in the State in the 1900 census. Oakland and San Francisco reported plasterers, carpenters, and painters among the few skilled Negro laborers in 1912. (3)

Cement Finishers 594 in Oakland had one Negro member prior to World War II. The acute war time shortage gave the Negro cement finisher an unprecedented opportunity. As a result of this opportunity there were 75 Negro members in Local 594 in the total membership of 225 in May, 1948. Local 580 in San Francisco reported a similar war experience. Of its 250 members in May, 1948 there were 20 Negroes.

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(1) Northrup, 42
(2) Ibid, 43
(3) Du Bois, 51

Plasterers 112 in Oakland experienced a 50 per cent increase of Negro members during the war. Of 500 members in May, 1948 there were 90 Negroes. Six Negro apprentices were in training at this date. Mr. Charles Springle, Business Agent of 112, informed the writer that Negro members attend the meetings well, are good union men, and that white and black work side by side on the job without difficulty. Local 112's leadership has not had to contend with discrimination on the part of the rank and file white unionist.

Plasterers 66 in San Francisco is the third oldest local union in the city's history, chartered in 1858. Mr. Tom Walsh, Business Agent for 66, explained that plasterers received very short work assignments. Carpenters and painters may work from two to three months on one job, but the plasterer gets a day or two, or at most a very few days on the same job. The new type house construction has reduced the work assignments even more. Pre-fabricated housing amounts to technological displacement of the plasterer. Plasterers attempt to make up for the small job assignments by traveling to locals where construction of a large scale offers more job assignments than the district's local can handle. Local 66, for example, carries a normal membership of 400. In May, 1948 it was downto 335 due to members using the privilege of transfer to other locals where construction was offering immediate job opportunities. The four Negro members of Local 66 are transfers from Southern locals where they had previously mastered the skills of the trade. The war time migrants to the San Francisco did not have highly developed skills, according to Mr. Walsh, which is an opinion shared by most of the labor leaders interviewed by the writer. There have been almost no

applicants from this group to Local 66. Some of the unskilled Negroes have done "scratch work", which requires less skill, and have been cleared by Local 66 to do it. These men could not pass the examination required in such a highly competitive skilled craft, whether they were black or white. When work is slack, Mr. Walsh pointed out, a contractor may hire a crew at ten in the morning, fire them at noon because he is dissatisfied, hire another crew, fire them for the same reason at two in the afternoon, and hire still another crew for the rest of the afternoon, firing them at the day's close and starting with a new crew the following morning. In a highly skilled competitive work area of this kind the local could not hire unskilled men of any color or creed. Those who are qualified are readily accepted. This was borne out by Mr. Donald Glover of the Urban League, who referred a skilled plasterer to Local 66. The man was readily accepted after passing the examination of the local.

Northrup's summary of this union seems to be fairly appropriate to the Bay Area, as well as to the national scene. He concludes:

> "In so far as race discrimination is concerned, Negro plasterers and cement finishers have less difficulty than do other colored building craftsmen. But the employment opportunities of all plasterers, Negro and white, are likely to be diminished in the future by the use of prefabricated plaster board, which is becoming increasingly more popular in building construction." (1)

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(1) Northrup, 43

THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BRIDGE, STRUCTURAL ORNAMENTAL, AND REENFORCED IRON WORKERS

1. Bridge Workers 378, Oakland
2. Iron Workers 491, Oakland
3. Bridge Workers 377, San Francisco
4. Iron Workers 472, San Francisco

Fifty years after its organization in 1896 in Pittsburgh the Bridge Workers reported a membership of 150,000. The members of the International are usually divided into two locals in the various areas of organization, the Bridge Workers and the Iron Workers. Negro members, when found in the Association, are usually affiliated with the Iron Workers.

In the Bay Area this is the case. Bridge Workers 377 in San Francisco and Bridge Workers 378 in Oakland have no Negro members. There are approximately 1000 members in each local. Mr. Sorenson, Business Agent for Oakland's 378, expressed the opinion to the writer that the danger of the work might have been a deterrent to the entry of Negroes into the trade. This was independently expressed in the San Francisco office of 377 during the writer's visit there.

Iron Workers 472 in San Francisco had no Negroes before the war. During the war 3 Negroes became full members of the local. In May, 1948 there were 16 Negroes among 300 members. The integration, which has been gradual, has been "O.K." Iron Workers 491, Oakland and San Francisco had 1000 members in May, 1948. 22 were Negroes and 5 Negroes were in process of becoming members. With one notable exception the Negroes in 491 are not good attenders at union meetings. There has been no difficulty about acceptance of Negro members on the job.

43 members out of 1300 in the two Iron Workers' locals is almost clear gain due to the war labor vacuum's drawing the Negro the Bay Area. Since union leadership reports no difficulty with integration, the 43 Negroes in these locals may be a small part of the answer of future Negro employment opportunity in the Bay Area.

THE UNITED SLATE, TILE, AND COMPOSITION ROOFERS, DAMP AND WATERPROOF WORKERS' ASSOCIATION

1. Roofers 81, Oakland

2. Roofers 40, San Francisco

The Roofers are among the younger AFL unions in the building trades. They organized in 1919 in Pittsburgh, Pa.

During the writer's visits to the Oakland and San Francisco offices of Locals 81 and 40, he was able to discover only one Negro affiliated with either group, a transfer from out of town who was identified with Oakland Local 81 in April, 1948.

Mr. S.A. Summers, Business Agent of 81, and Mr. William Chalanger, Dispatcher and Financial Secretary-Treasurer of 81, were very courteous to the writer, explaining that there is no color bar in the Roofers' Association, but that in the local area the Examining Board must pass upon each applicant before he is accepted. With three members of the Board anti-Negro the chances of any Negro roofer becoming identified with 81 in any other way except by transfer are not very probable. An employer in the roofing business affirmed the statements of the two union leaders and explained that during rush seasons the Negro roofers are granted temporary cards which give them clearance from the union hall.

The Alameda County NAACP reported two cases in connection with Local 81. The first case was a craftsman with skill and experience who had worked for 14 months in one of the local firms. Management was pleased with his work and paid him the union rate of $1.35 per hour. Local 81 objected to this Negro worker, however, and requested that he be dismissed. Management stalled as long as possible, dismissing several foremen during the dispute. Local 81 threatened to stop all referrals to the firm. Management arranged for the Negro roofer to be reduced to the status of common laborer and retained him, but Local 81 still objected to his presence on the job and demanded his removal.

The NAACP prepared to file suit on behalf of the man, but just as the suit was about to be filed, he received a very attractive offer is another city in the State and left town. The suit was never filed. This experience was repeated in almost exactly the same sequence in the case of another Negro roofer. The Executive Secretary of NAACP was kind enough to permit the writer to go over the office files and review the case studies of both men.

The Urban League in San Francisco has had no cases involving Local 40.

There were 280 members in Local 40 and 250 in Local 81 in May, 1948.. The outlook for Negro roofers in these locals probably requires no additional comment.

THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF WOOD, WIRE, AND METAL LATHERS

1. Lathers 88, Oakland

2. Lathers 65, San Francisco

The Lathers were probably the last union organized in the 19th century, completing organization on December 15, 1899 in Detroit. Lathers' locals in the South have been both separate and mixed. Spero and Harris mention the case of a separate Negro local securing work on a building under contract at the same time that a white local of the Lathers held an agreement with the same contractor. When the leader of the white lathers' local called his men off the job, the contractor showed that the Negroes on the job were regular union members, the whites were forced to return to work in order to avoid suit. (1) An AFL survey in 1946 on Negro membership and leadership in the organization brought a response from a mixed local in Atlanta with 60 per cent Negro membership. Local 234 of the Lathers reported a Negro president, W. Paul Smartt, who also serves as Secretary of the State Lathers' Council. (2)

Interviews with Mr. Jack Reynolds, Secretary of the Oakland Building Trades Council and member of Lathers 88, and Mr. Rex Pritchard, Business Agent of 88, stated that the local had recently begun to accept a few Negro lathers. In April, 1948 there were 4 Negro lathers among 175 members of Local 88. The same process was reported of Local 65 in San Francisco. In May, 1948 Local 65 had accepted 2 Negro lathers. The total membership was 140.

The introduction of these Negro lathers into Locals 88 and 65 may mean a gradual acceptance of more Negroes in the Lathers. It is, of course, too early to prognosticate.

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(1) Spero and Harris, 121
(2) Pie in the Sky?, 9

THE SHEET METAL WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

1. Sheet Metal Workers 216, Oakland
2. Sheet Metal Production Workers 355, Oakland
3. Sheet Metal Workers 104, San Francisco

The Sheet Metal Workers appeared in our classification outline among the unions which segregate Negro members into Jim Crow auxiliaries. In the 1944 Labor Handbook by Florence Peterson this excerpt is taken from the membership section of the Sheet Metal Workers' Constitution and By-Laws:

> "Negro applicants are organized with the consent of the affiliated white local union as an auxiliary ... and shall be represented by said white local union at all conferences and conventions, including the International Convention." (1)

In the Bay Area locals there is a departure from this practice, similar to the departure we shall consider later in the chapter in discussing the Machinists. The Urban League in San Francisco has been successful in arranging full membership for a Negro machinist in Local 104 (1150 members). Sheet Metal Production Workers 355 in Oakland has added four Negro members since the war (1000 members). The largest showing is made in Sheet Metal Workers 216 of Oakland. Mr. Lloyd Child, Business Agent of 216, told the writer that there were no Negroes before the war, but that the war emergency had given Negroes jobs and membership in the local. Of 1000 members in April, 1948 50 were Negroes. Mr. Child reported "acceptance O.K.".

Even small gains in organizations with the practice of Jim Crowing the Negro worker have psychological as well as economic value.

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(1) Florence Peterson, Labor Handbook, see Appendix

THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OPERATING ENGINEERS

1. Operating Engineers 3,
Oakland and San Francisco

Originally known as The National Steam Engineers' Union upon its formation in 1896, later as The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers in 1905, the present name, International Union of Operating Engineers, was adopted in 1928 shortly after affiliation of the Steam Shovel and Dredge Men with them.

The Operating Engineers admit any engineer engaged in the craft and reported a membership of 100,000 in 1946. 12,000 of these Engineers were located in Washington, Oregon, and California. Local 3 of San Francisco and Oakland had 5000 members in May, 1948. 15 of the 5000 were Negroes. Mr. Clem, Business Agent for Local 3 reported to the writer that the Negro members attended meetings satisfactorily and that there had been no problem with white acceptance of the Negro members of the union.

15 Negroes, even in so large a group as 5000, represent skilled workmen. Since there has been no difficulty about acceptance of Negro union members, it is possible that the number may increase.

METALS AND MACHINERY

THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

1. Auto Mechanics 1546, Oakland
2. Production Lodge 1518, Oakland
3. Production Lodge 1566, Oakland
4. Machinists 284, Oakland
5. Tool and Die Makers Lodge 1176, Oakland and San Francisco
6. Production and Aeronautical Lodge 1327, San Francisco
7. Auto Mechanics 1305, San Francisco
8. Machinists 68, San Francisco

The International Association of Mashinists has been discussed at some length as the union which broke the AFL tradition of no color discrimination when it was admitted to membership in the AFL after shifting its exclusion clause from the constitution to the ritual. This was in 1895. Forty-six years later when defense production in America was demanding the largest manpower quota in our history, an expansion of the IAM's jurisdiction over thousands of semi-skilled workers made the IAM more of an industrial union than the strictly craft union it had been. Prior to this shift in union structure the Association had pointed out that there was no problem in the area of discrimination because the number of skilled Negro machinists was negligible. Weaver pointed out that the exclusionist policy of the IAM was the chief factor limiting the number of Negro machinists. (1)

Nashville, Wichita, Seattle, and San Francisco locals would not clear colored workers to defense jobs because of the IAM's "all-white clause" in the ritual. The district organizer in the Seattle area said at the time:

> "Labor has been asked to make many sacrifices in this war effort and has made them gladly. But this sacrifice is too great." (2)

Pressure from President Roosevelt on AFL President Green was passed on to IAM President Harvey Brown. As a result, FEPC's Harry Kingman told the writer, work permits were issued to Negro workers by 751 of Seattle and 68 of San Francisco.

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(1) Weaver, 225-226
(2) Survey Graphic, 471

This action on the West Coast became a precedent for other locals in the nation in shipyards and in aircraft plants.

Weaver calls the action of Local 54 in Cleveland at this time, "the most significant development in the IAM". Lodge 54 accepted Negro employees of Warner and Swasey into full membership, which was not challenged by the IAM. Weaver quotes the organizing chairman of the shop committee of the plant:

> "I am reminded that no matter where you go, if you have your union card with you then you will be recognized as a member of the machinist lodge No. 54...There will be no separate meetings of white and Negro. You will sit in our regular meetings, with full voice and voting rights." (1)

The Burbank, California, local lodge has likewise admitted Negroes into full membership despite the clause in the ritual. As a result of these actions and as a result of the work permit clearances the white and black worker have proved that by the tens of thousands they can work together. It has also proved that the IAM can exert influence on its local lodges to obtain clearance for Negro workers. (2)

In the Bay Area field work done by the writer, one of his most fruitful interviews was the one granted by Mr. Ernie Vernon, Business Representative for Auto Mechanics Local 1546. Mr. Vernon explained that the place of origin, Atlanta, Ga., and the type of organization, the brotherhood-lodge type, helped to account for the color bar in the IAM. Local 1546 has followed the practice of issuing work permits to Negroes, Japanese, and Chinese mechanics for the past seven years,

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(1) Weaver, 226-227
(2) Ibid, 228.

which gives them clearance and union protection without the payment of dues or fees. On January 8, 1947 Local 1546 passed a resolution admitting these minority color groups to full membership in the lodge. As a result there were 7 Japanese, 2 Chinese, and 80 Negroes in April, 1948 enjoying membership privileges in Local Lodge 1546 of Oakland. Mr. Vernon pointed out the technical possibility of the Grand Lodge of IAM demanding dismissal of these 87 members because of the clause in the ritual. He does not expect this to happen in the face of two important developments. First, this has been happening in lodges all over the nation. Second, every year the color bar in the ritual has come to the floor of the International Convention of IAM for debate and vote. Every year the vote for removal of the color bar has increased. In 1947 when the delegates voted at a membership strength of more than 600,000, the color bar was retained by only 300 votes. This would mean on the basis of 600,000 votes something like 300,150 in favor of retaining the color bar and 299,850 in favor of removing the color bar. It is not impossible that 1948 might see the International Convention voting to remove the clause in its ritual.

The 80 Negro machinists among the 6000 members of Lodge 1546 were divided in April, 1948, in these classifications: 35 were working in aeronautics, 5 in automotive repair, and 40 were apprentices. These members are protected by the strict practice of union seniority.

There is much more to the problem of job opportunity for Negro machinists than the policies of the IAM, according to Mr. Vernon. The greatest discrimination is practiced by the employer and the public. In the East Bay Area there is the additional problem of the 13 Negro employers who refuse to employ Negro machinists and specify "all white" in referral requests.

Mr. Vernon reported that Tool and Die Makers 1176 with 750 members has no colored membership. 1176 has jurisdiction in Oakland and San Francisco.

Production Workers Lodge 1518 in Oakland, according to Mr. Aaronsen, Business Agent, in April 1948 had 10 Negroes integrated into its membership of 1560.

Production Workers Lodge 1566 in Oakland has 75 Negroes in April, 1948 in a membership of 2100. Mr. Schiavenza, Recording Secretary of 1566 reported that not all of the 75 Negroes were employed at the time the writer talked with him.

Machinists 284 in Oakland had 25 Negroes among its 1500 members in April, 1948, according to Mr. Vernon.

In San Francisco Production and Aeronautical Lodge 1327 had 1000 Negroes working under its jurisdiction during the war. In May, 1948 of its 2900 post war membership 250 were still Negro members. The writer visited the Lodge offices where it was reported that integration in this local had been carried out without difficulty because of the war time experience of white and black working together on the jobs.

Auto Mechanics 1305 in San Francisco had 4550 members in May, 1948. Mr. Glover of the Urban League told the writer that this was a highly skilled lodge, difficult for the Negro to "crack" because of his lack of experience in the required skills. San Francisco offered few heavy industry opportunities to the Negro, whose experience usually lay in that direction, but was instead chiefly confined to the highly skilled crafts in which the Negro has never had a large place. Consequently Mr. Glover was pleased to report that Lodge 1305 had accepted a Negro auto mechanic into full membership and that five other applications from Negro mechanics were pending. Mr. Glover was optimistic about their chances of acceptance.

Machinists Lodge 68, already mentioned as one of those lodges upon which pressure was exerted by Presidents Roosevelt, Green, and Brown, had no Negroes on its list of 5400 members when the writer visited the office in May, 1948. This was the first office visited and the first individual contacted in the writer's field work, which had secured information on 200 local unions on both sides of the Bay, when a direct refusal to give the information requested was encountered. The gentleman in the office stated that he did not care to give out any information that might be published. Upon further investigation into the record the writer was not surprised at the attitude shown, although the initial shock at the refusal, following the scores of cordial and courteous receptions on both sides of the Bay, was an unpleasant experience for the writer.

Further research in the CIO Research Office in San Francisco turned up the war time reports of the Bay Area Council Against Discrimination on the Charles Sullivan case. On June 12, 1942 a BACAD report in the CIO files told of sending a letter to Lodge 68 urging the acceptance into membership of a qualified Negro journeyman machinist, Charles Sullivan. The letter mentioned Seattle and Los Angeles local lodges accepting Negroes into membership. A petition was presented with the names of 58 of the 61 members in the particular shop where Mr. Sullivan was employed. The petition from the men who worked beside him asked that their lodge accept Mr. Sullivan's membership application. On July 20, 1942 a follow-up BACAD report in the CIO files reported that Mr. Sullivan was still working on a clearance card issued by the union, but was denied membership on the basis of his color. The Council Against Discrimination was refused a conference with officials of Lodge 68. The final outcome of the Charles Sullivan case was reported to the writer by a former member of Lodge 68, who was in the local in 1942, but withdrew with the secessionist group which became Local 168 in the CIO Machinists. He reported that work clearance was the extent of Mr. Sullivan's affiliation with 68. He was never admitted to the union. So far as the writer has been able to find the facts, Local 68 has never had a Negro member. A follow-up call by the writer happened to contact a different gentleman in Lodge 68 who willingly informed the writer that there were 6 Negroes working in the shipyards under 68's jurisdiction,

but that they were working on union clearance only, they were not members.

Northrup's 1944 statement on the IAM would not seem to be entirely applicable in 1948.

> "A few labor organizations present grave dangers to the economic status of Negroes. Foremost among these is the International Association of Machinists, whose 600,000 members are found in the aircraft, shipbuilding, and railroad industries, as well as in machine shops in numerous others." (1)

This analysis would fit Lodges 68 and 1176, of course, but Lodges 1546, 1518, 1566, 284, 1305, and 1327 would appear to be offering job opportunities in varying degrees, to the Negro machinist. Burbank, Los Angeles, and Cleveland lodges habe been mentioned as examples of those accepting Negroes into full membership. Mr. Vernon informed the writer that IAM delegates from New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain Districts all voted in the recent convention discussed above to eliminate the color clause from the IAM ritual.

Two top AFL officials in the Bay Area in conversation with the writer deplored the wholesale attacks on the IAM which made no mention of the fact that the convention was practically split in an even vote division on the color bar. These officials were not IAM members, but felt that the Negro's cause was hurt when the Machinists were lumped together by such prominent leaders as A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters and castigated as a single unit

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(1) Northrup, 254-256

when almost 50 per cent of the delegates to the IAM convention were voting in the Negro machinist's favor. The AFL leaders felt that the sheep should be separated from the goats and treated as allies in a common cause, not enemies.

Both the Bay Area and National pictures, so far as the IAM is concerned, seem to the writer to show encouraging gains on one of the Negro's most difficult fronts before and during the late war.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF BOILERMAKERS, IRON SHIP BUILDERS AND HELPERS OF AMERICA

1. Boilermakers 39, Oakland
2. Welders and Burners 681, Oakland
3. Shipfitters 9, Oakland and San Francisco
4. Boilermakers 6, San Francisco
5. Welders and Burners 1330, San Francisco
6. Shipyard and Marine Shop Laborers 886, Oakland and San Francisco

Probably no labor union in the Bay Area has been so prominently associated in the popular mind with discrimination as the Boilermakers. The famous James versus Marinship case has given wide publicity to the Jim Crow auxiliary policy of the Boilermakers.

The Boilermakers, it will be recalled, came into the AFL in 1896, just a year following the Machinists, and without removing the color bar from their membership provisions.

The question of organizing the Negro worker was brought to the attention of convention delegates of the Boilermakers International in 1920 and again in 1925. The AFL had requested in its national meeting that the question be considered by all affiliates practicing any form of exclusion. Nothing substantial came out of either the 1920 or 1925 conventions.

The Boilermakers' Jim Crow policy came down to World War II unaltered. When Negro workers sought admittance to the Portland, Oregon, local, the union stated that "the available supply of Negro labor...could be absorbed as janitors." (1) There were 5000 Negroes in the Portland yards at the time. 8000 more were working in the Richmond yards of Kaiser Company and another 8000 in Los Angeles yards. In the San Francisco area there were more Negroes in Boilermakers' auxiliaries than were working in the jurisdiction of all CIO unions combined, including the Longshoremen, Marine Cooks, Transport Workers, and Electrical Workers.

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(1) Northrup, 217

The auxiliary status of the Boilermakers special locals for Negro members was not that of the separate independent all Negro local. Auxiliaries had no voting representation to determine policy, were unable to bargain with management, were not parties to the master contract, could be dissolved at the discretion of the parent local, and when so dissolved must turn over half the current treasury to the International and the other half to the parent local. Although auxiliary members paid the same insurance premium rates, the benefits were not equal.

The 1944 Boilermakers' convention met a number of the objections raised, but one bone of contention remained in the matter of the universal transfer. This was the only controversial issue which President Charles J. MacGowan was not able to arrange to the satisfaction of FEPC. The FEPC had pointed out the difficulty of a union representing all the members in its jurisdiction without having all the members present in meetings to vote and speak from the floor in determining policy. In the James-Marinship decision in January, 1945, the Supreme Court of California concluded:

> "Negroes must be admitted to membership under the same terms and conditions applicable to non-Negroes unless the union and the employer refrain from enforcing the closed-shop agreement against them." (1)

Mr. MacGowan's lawyer, however, found an 1849 decision handed down by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts upholding

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(1) Malcolm Ross, All Manner of Men, 150

the segregation of white and colored children in the Boston public schools. The decision had never been superseded and is the basis of the segregation laws in the South. The lawyer informed Mr. MacGowan that it was not in the province of the Supreme Court of California "to tell the Brotherhood what, if any other, means the Brotherhood could adopt to furnish Negroes equal facilities." (1)

Malcolm Ross, war time chairman of FEPC, follows his quote above with this summary of his analysis of the Boilermakers' auxiliaries:

> "So it was suggested that the old hunt for ways around granting Negroes membership be continued. It worked in two wars. The issue is quiescent whenever there are plenty of jobs to go around. It will arise again when Negro Boilermakers go searching for work from town to town without universal transfer cards in their pockets. It will return if a national emergency returns." (2)

Mr. Kingman, FEPC executive already mentioned, told the writer during an interview that the Boilermakers took action on the national level to remove auxiliaries wherever necessary.

Boilermakers 39 in Oakland is an example of the disbanded auxiliary. Mr. Owen Birch, Business Agent of 39, told the writer that the local's 2500 membership includes 100 Negroes. The Negroes formerly met in a segregated local of their own, Mr. Birch explained, but now all the members meet in the same hall. Integration had not been difficult in Local 39. In separate interviews with both the President and the Executive

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(1) Ross, 152
(2) Ibid, 152

Secretary of the Alameda County NAACP the writer had no complaints about Local 39.

Welders and Burners 681, Boilermaker affiliate, is another example of the disbanded auxiliary. One of the NAACP officers interviewed explained that an injunction threat had been required to win equal status for the Negro welders in Oakland Local 681, and that Richmond Welders and Burners local still maintained a Jim Crow auxiliary (April, 1948). The Bay Area Council Against Discrimination reported in 1942 the announcement of Local 681 following the acceptance of a number of Negro welders and burners into full membership that this was to be a permanent policy in 681. Six years later the writer's interview with Secretary Dallas Wilson indicated that 681 had kept its published word in the matter. Among its 1600 members are 125 Negro welders and burners, formerly in a separate auxiliary local, now meeting with the Caucasian members in the same hall. Mr. Wilson felt that the war experience had made acceptance relatively free from difficulty.

On the San Francisco side the picture has not been quite so clear. Following the James-Marinship decision and the MacGowan lawyer's discovery of the 1849 precedent for segregation by reason of color, attempts were made to secure the cooperation of Negro members who favored separate independent locals. Local 6 in San Francisco secured a Negro business agent who favored segregation, "a bad choice for the Negroes", NAACP President Dellums observed. Shipyard management and the Boilermakers' union tried to keep the Negro in the lowest job categories, according to Mr. Dellums. This was made

possible by the new plan of the Boilermakers, announced to the FEPC in January, 1945, dissolving the Negro auxiliaries and stating that they were to become regular separate lodges with full autonomy. Colored members were still unable to carry universal transfer cards. They were limited to transfer cards valid in Negro lodges only. This policy carries the danger to the Negro member of discrimination by both management and the union. Unless an FEPC were to be established to enforce peacetime fair employment, Negro lodges can hardly be expected to have an equal chance for employment in the field.

Mr. Fred Sample, member of Local 6 for twenty years, spoke with pride of the fine building the Boilermakers had erected in San Francisco. He mentioned to the writer also that the union had built a smaller building for the Negro members. The two halls maintained separate meeting places. for the two groups.

This separate local status, however, has been eliminated by Local 6 of San Francisco. The writer verified this fact through Business Agent Ed Rainbow and through the Labor Secretary of the NAACP in San Francisco, Mr. William Frierson. The Negro and Caucasian members of Local 6 all meet in the same hall and the Negro and Caucasian members of Welders 1330 meet in the same hall with them. The separate buildings are not maintained by Local 6 and Welders 1330 any longer, but all members meet in the fine big building Mr. Sample mentioned.

During the interview with Mr. Rainbow the war time figures of Local 6 were given to the writer. Total membership at the peak of the war production period was 36,000. 3000 of these members were Negro boilermakers. The May, 1948 figure had, of course, dropped way down. The membership at that date was 1800. The 150 Negro boilermakers still with Local 6, according to Mr. Rainbow, are "the best in the trade". Mr. Rainbow found that many Negroes and Caucasians did not like the heavy and exacting work required of a boilermaker. Many were not adaptable to the job. This was evident in a good deal of absenteeism on the part of those who were not happy with the type of work required. Mr. Rainbow felt that employer discrimination had accounted for some of the Negroes leaving Local 6. Due to the obvious drop in membership (34,200), job allotments in the post war period are understandably scarce. This has postponed acceptance of new Negro members in the face of the fact that many union card holders are now unemployed. Lists will not be opened to new members until those now unemployed are working again. Mr. Glover of the Urban League was concerned to be sure that the Negroes who had been given this answer were not being turned away just because they were Negroes. It is difficult for an outsider to prove this either way, but in several instances during the scores of visits made by the writer to various local dispatching offices he has heard Caucasian applicants given the same answer, and has also been informed of unemployment

of union members in a number of locals.

Shipfitters Local 9, Oakland and San Francisco, had a war peak membership of 18,000. Among them were 700 Negro members. Shipfitters 9 had no Negroes before the war, so the Negro was new to the job and to the union. Mr. Keel, Business Agent of Local 9, told the writer that most of the Negroes who came to the Shipfitters during the war were not experienced and skilled fitters. They were able to "get by" during the war because of the labor vacuum and manpower shortage. By May, 1948, however, membership in Local 9 had dropped from its high of 18,000 to 1320. Only 22 Negroes remain in the local. Employers are again able to demand only the best fitters, especially skilled and experienced in construction or in repair. The 22 Negroes, like those remaining in Local 6 of the Boilermakers, have been able to perform with the necessary skills to satisfy even the exacting post-war employer. Mr. Keel, unlike many business agents, seems to the writer to have taken an unusual personal interest in his former Negro members. He knows, for instance, that many of his old members have gone into the Laborers Union, a few into other locals in San Francisco, many have gone back to their original out-of-state homes. He spoke of the personal experiences of individual Negroes who had been his members during the war and whose careers he has been able to follow since. He was especially concerned over one former fitter who had invested and lost a good deal of money made during the war period.

Mr. A. F. Bartholomew, Secretary of Shipyard and Marine Shop Laborers Local 886, told the writer an interesting story of highly increased Negro participation in Local 886 purely because of the labor vacuum of World War II. Prior to the war Local 886 had never had a Negro member. Hiring was in the hands of the employer, giving him full employment rights. Employers refused to accept Negroes until the labor shortage became so acute in 1940 that precedent was broken and the first Negro accepted by management. Local 886 had the first Negro member in its history. But this was only the beginning. The local's 1200 members became 16,000 at the production peak of World War II. Over 14,000 of these were Negro members. Mr. Bartholomew estimated 90 per cent, which would give an exact figure of 14,400. The pre-war level of 1200 had just about been reached when the writer interviewed Mr. Bartholomew. The figure in May, 1948 was 1250 members in Local 886. With the manpower shortage no longer a form of pressure on management, discrimination has returned. The Negro members are still a majority, 750, according to Mr. Bartholomew's estimate. The tactic employed by management in line with its contract employment rights is not to refuse Negroes at the time of the initial referral, but to exercise his right to continue in his employ only those workers he wants on the job. Some employers, as a result of the war experience, now accept Negroes and keep them on the job for its duration. Others have returned to the practice of discrimination and employ the dismissal tactics described by Mr. Bartholomew.

The clear gain for the Negro worker of 750 members in the eight year period which has elapsed since 886 took in its first colored member in 1940 is, of course, a hopeful sign for job opportunity in a field formerly tightly closed against him. The full acceptance of some employers of the Negro men referred to them is another clear gain. But the dismissal tactic is a dangerous one for the future of the Negro in 886. One of the Negro members in the local, a Business Agent, made a very effective plea in an AFL Council meeting recently, according to word reaching the writer from a well informed Caucasian labor leader in the Federation. The Negro member of Local 886 asked the Council for its help, not only in the case of his own local's battle against discrimination by the employer, but wherever there is discrimination practiced against the Negro worker in the Bay Area. The Council's support would be helpful, but in the case of 886 the hiring control is the crucial issue and under the Taft-Hartley Act the chance of any improvement in favor of labor is almost out of the question.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF BLACKSMITHS, DROP FORGERS AND HELPERS

1. Blacksmiths 171, Oakland
2. Blacksmiths 168, San Francisco
3. Blacksmiths 245, San Francisco

Du Bois' study of the black artisan carries newspaper advertisements taken from Tennessee and Georgia papers as early as 1804 and 1811 in which owners are urged to apprentice their slaves to master blacksmiths in the cities of Nashville and Augusta. (1)

After the slaves were freed, Spero and Harris point out that the Blacksmiths Union had provisions more restrictive to Negro craftsmen than the Rural Letter Carriers, the Maintenance-of-Way Employees, or the Sheet Metal Workers. The Blacksmiths prohibited Negro helpers from becoming apprentices or journeymen blacksmiths. They were organized in auxiliary locals without representation from their own locals, without grievance committees of their own, and with transfer privileges only to other Negro auxiliaries. In the words of Spero and Harris:

> "These provisions look more like a contrivance for eliminating Negro mechanics from the craft than a means of admitting them to the union...section 4 reduces the Negro auxiliary to a dues-paying entity regulated by the white local in order to safeguard itself against undercutting competition of unorganized Negro helpers." (2)

Negro labor leader, C. L. Dellums, spoke of this union as having had the worst color clause of any of the unions up to the 1946 convention, when the color bar was removed.

Mr. Gaines, Business Agent for Local 171 in Oakland and 168 and 245 in San Francisco, told the writer that the Bay Area locals had been admitting Negro blacksmiths to full membership six years before this convention action. The 1946

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(1) Du Bois, 30
(2) Spero and Harris, 62-63

vote was strongly opposed by the Southern locals, but carried anyway. Local 171 in Oakland had 25 Negro members on its list of 200 in May, 1948. Local 168 in San Francisco had 15 Negro members in a total of 288. Local 245 in San Francisco had 20 Negro members out of 150.

Although the Blacksmiths are not a large enough group, with only 10,000 members in the nation, to offer sizable job opportunities to Negroes, there can surely be said to be some psychological value in the removal of the very severe anti-Negro provisions from the Blacksmiths' constitution in 1946.

INTERNATIONAL MOLDERS AND FOUNDRY WORKERS
OF NORTH AMERICA

1. Molders 164, San Francisco

Franz Boas credits the African Negro with the discovery of reducing iron ores by smelting, developing the artisanship of the blacksmith by turning out lance heads a yard long, axes inlaid with copper and decorated with filigree, and in the craft of casting producing on the west coast of Africa work in bronze excelling European skill to the point of being "inimitable". (1)

Before the Revolutionary War Negroes were working with metals as blacksmiths and iron workers in the South. Following their emancipation from slavery, they continued to ply these trades, though white union control of the metal skills made Negro participation relatively difficult. Opportunities came to the Negro, however, through a labor vacuum in the iron and steel foundries, caused by the reduction of foreign white foundry workers available to management. The reduction of immigration during the World War I years and shortly thereafter, discussed in Chapter II, caused a shortage of workers in the foundries. Management had been accustomed to taking on immigrant whites and using them until they moved up the economic ladder to be replaced by later waves of immigrants from the same European homelands. The jobs were hot and dirty and considered undesirable by native white labor. So management, faced with a labor vacuum, turned to the Negro as gap-filler.

A study made of 17 mid-western foundries in 1927 showed

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(1) Du Bois, 27

as many as 731 Negro foundrymen in one plant, 541 in another, 388 in another. Negroes made up over 30 per cent of the work force in eight of the plants. They totalled 3147 workers in the 17 plants, composing 24.2 per cent of the total work force in the 17 foundries. Most of the workers were unskilled at the outset, but Negroes began to take on the work of iron molders in increasing numbers. When 12 Chicago foundries were studied in 1924, all plants reported Negro workers, ranging from 10 to 60 per cent of the employment total. In all but one plant Negroes had advanced from common labor to semi-skilled and skilled work.

Wage differentials were evident in the survey made in Pittsburgh in 1925. Negro chippers, core makers, grinders, and molders made about 55 cents per hour, while white workers doing the same four jobs were paid from a low of 55 cents to a high of 90 cents per hour. The white worker's floor was the Negro worker's ceiling.

The Molders' Union was an old union, organized before the Civil War in 1859 by 32 delegates representing 12 locals. In regard to the differential and what the Molders' Union might do about it by organizing the Negro molders, John P. Frey, an officer of the national union, stated at an inter-racial conference in the same year of the Pittsburgh survey:

> "Now, from my personal knowledge, taking the city of Cincinnati to begin with, and the cities of Dayton and Springfield and others...the Negro molder receives from 20 percent to 45 per cent less wages for the same output as the white molders in this state. If you would go with me and talk with the Negro molders who are employed in a foundry

> in Cincinnati...they would tell you that they thought the organization might be a good thing for them, but if they became members of the trade union movement they would immediately lose their jobs." (1)

In the Southern foundries a superintendent in a Kentucky plant explained that Negroes were employed in the foundry because they would do the dirty work, pouring crucibles, working in the grinding room, that white men would not do, and because they were "cheaper". In the state of Alabama during the decade from 1910 to 1920 the proportion of Negro iron molders increased from one tenth to one fourth of the total work force in Alabama plants. Spero and Harris point out a difference between the work system and job titles in the South and in the Northern city of Chicago, which seems to have had a better record for treatment of Negroes in its foundries than Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Dayton, and Springfield.

> "A white man and a black man work together on a mold. In Chicago, where this happens frequently, both men are called molders and receive a molder's rate. In the South the white man is a molder and the black man a molder's helper. The white man gets about 79 cents an hour and the black man about 40 cents." (2)

The AFL included many highly skilled Negro molders among its 650,000 Negro members in 1946. The wage differential in the South between white and Negro molders has been removed in Local 238 of Mobile, Alabama, which has a Negro Secretary who is also Vice President of the State Federation. In the Mobile Pulley plant the wage differential was exactly two to

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(1) Spero and Harris, 176, also 155-157
(2) Ibid, 170

one in favor of the white molder, 90 cents to 45 cents per hour for the same work. The Molders and Foundry Workers Union Local 238 asked for equal pay for its white and Negro members in 1944. The Regional War Labor Board asked Local 238 to withdraw this equal pay demand in order to keep the peace in the city of Mobile and avoid a race riot. Local 238 would not withdraw the demand, however, taking it up to the National War Labor Board and winning its case for the Negro members of the local. In 1946 both white and Negro molders had been receiving $1.38 per hour for two years and there had not been a race riot in Mobile over the equal pay contract. (1)

In the San Francisco Bay Area the writer discussed the policies of Molders 164 with a Caucasian labor leader who is identified with another union. His interest in the Negro worker has led him to a knowledge of the practices of some of the San Francisco locals of AFL. He gave the Molders a good rating in the practice of the union policy of non-discrimination. There is no segregation and no wage differential in Local 164. Mr. Al Wynn, Secretary of the local, confirmed this policy to the writer, remarking that the membership applications which come to him do not show in any way whether a man is white, black or yellow because Local 164 doesn't care about the member's color. Mr. Wynn seemed to deplore segregation of Negro workers in other unions and emphasized three times during the interview that the Molders

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(1) Pie in the Sky, 10

did not segregate "him" (referring to the Negro member). He emphasized twice in the interview that all men were welcome to membership in 164, not only Negroes, but Chinese and Japanese and any other worker who makes application. Mr. Wynn estimated that in May of 1948 1000 of Local 164's 4000 members were Negroes. This is far out of proportion to the ratio of Negro to white in the San Francisco population, and would seem to offer the Negro-San Franciscan a fairly good job opportunity.

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In the Metals and Machinery classification of our study in the Bay Area the position of the Negro worker seems to have improved. He was already established in the Molders' local, but his gains in the Machinists' locals, the Boilermakers' locals, and the Blacksmiths' locals are rather unusual gains when one surveys the color bar traditionally associated with each of these three brotherhoods in the past.

TRANSPORTATION

The story of the Negro worker's share in employment in Transportation in the Bay Area is not a very long story, so far as the AFL affiliates are concerned.

In Water Transport the Seafarers Union in San Francisco, according to the best informed Negro leaders on both sides of the Bay, "follows the Hitler line 100 per cent" with regard to Nordic supremacy and rejects Negro membership on the fallacious assumption that they are all "Commies".

The Masters, Mates, and Pilots Local 90 in San Francisco does not control union membership, according to the interview obtained by the writer with the San Francisco office. Local 90 accepts any applicant who presents a United States license. The color bar which once read, "any white person", has been removed. The fact that no Negroes are included among the 4000 members of the San Francisco local is due to the fact that no Negro has ever appeared with a United States license to qualify him for membership.

Among the Teamsters, who, as one of their leaders remarked, control "everything on wheels", there has not been much Negro affiliation in the various locals. Local 70 in Oakland has 20 Negro teamsters among its 5000 members, who are full members and attend meetings as well. Mr. Charles Real, the Secretary for Local 70 praised the Negro teamsters as "good union men" in an interview with the writer. Local 85 in San Francisco, according to Mr. Joe Diviney, the President, has only 5 Negroes among 4200 members.

Building Material Drivers Local 216 in San Francisco reported to the writer that there were two Negro drivers among 1400 members.

No other San Francisco local composed of drivers of any type reported any Negro drivers among its membership. For convenience and to avoid repetition these locals are listed with their numbers and with their membership on May 5, 1948.

Auto Drivers and Demonstrators 960, 200 members.

Bakery Drivers 484, 800 members.

Brewery Drivers 888, 400 members.

Ice Wagon Drivers 519, 450 members.

Milk Wagon Drivers 226, 1200 members.

Newspaper and Periodical Drivers 921, 100 members.

Retail Delivery Drivers 278, 475 members.

Sanitary Truck Drivers 350, 400 members.

Wholesale Liquor Drivers 109, 260 members.

Commission Market Drivers 280, 325 members.

The twelve San Francisco locals mentioned hold a total membership of 10,210, among whom were listed seven Negroes. It was explained by a qualified authority close to the teamster situation in San Francisco, but wishing to remain anonymous, that the teamsters in San Francisco were inclined to be very "tight outfits", with no inclination to accept minority color groups into their circle. Mr. Glover of the Urban League had helped one of the five Negroes in Local 85 to secure membership, but had had no experience with placing a Negro in any of the above listed affiliates.

Mr. Walter Bass, Business Agent for Chauffeurs Local 923 in Oakland, gave the writer two interviews, one in March and one in May of 1948. The writer was interested to learn whether or not Negroes had been admitted by the membership in the interim. Mr. Bass had indicated that labor solidarity called for organization of the Negro chauffeurs and integration in Local 923. Such integration had already been achieved in San Diego and Los Angeles and Mr. Bass thought it might be started in Oakland. The second interview indicated that it had not begun as of May, 1948. Local 265 in San Francisco has followed a policy of exclusion similar to that of 923. Local 923 has 800 members and Local 265 has 2500.

A leader of the teamsters in the East Bay explained that management and labor combine to keep Negroes out of Laundry Drivers 209 (450 members). Bakery Drivers 432 has no Negroes among its 300 members. Ice Wagon Drivers 610 has none among 450 members. Newspaper Drivers 96 has none among 100 members. Retail Delivery Drivers 588 has none among 1000 members.

The one exception uncovered during the writer's field work in the East Bay Area, aside from the Teamsters local mentioned above, was the Milk Wagon Drivers 302. Mr. Jeff Cohelan invited the writer to his home to discuss the problem of integration of Negro workers in 302. The Milk Wagon Drivers are much the same as any group of union men. Some resent Negro members, especially as drivers. Others cooperate in the acceptance of Negroes into union membership and participation.

Before the war Negro members of the local were confined to truck washing and "general swamping" jobs. The war broke down the barrier to up-grading somewhat. It was necessary to threaten discipline against one member of 302 to prevent discrimination. Employers can greatly help or hinder the Negro's entrance into the field. One employer, reluctant at first to take a Negro referral, told Mr. Cohelan after the man had been tried and proved that he would like to have "ten more just like him". Another employer told a Negro job prospect that it would not be possible to hire him because of Local 302's policy of discrimination against colored workers. The man was told that if he could get into the union he could have the job. Mr. Cohelan "nailed" this statement by phoning the employer in the presence of the Negro applicant to say that he was welcome to membership in 302.

Local 302 reported 50 Negro members on its list of 800.

Teamster affiliates, who are not "on wheels", and might better be classified under Food or Service headings, do have Negro members. Cannery Workers 750, with jurisdiction in Oakland and San Francisco, had 140 members among 1400 in May, 1948. The peak season finds 750 with 10,000 members, however, 3000 of whom are Negroes.

Mr. Nicholas, Business Agent for AFL Warehousemen 853, another Teamster affiliate, reported 300 Negroes among 2400 warehousemen for May, 1948. Local 853 had no Negroes prior to the war. The warehousemen experienced no adjustment prob-

lem, but accepted Negro members on the job, working side by side with them. Mr. Nicholas praised the Negro unionists in 853 as "faithful union members".

Garage Employees 78 in Oakland, another Teamster affiliate, also has Negro members. Mr. York, Business Agent, told the writer that Negroes had come into Local 78 in fairly large numbers during the war, furnishing 320 of an 800 total. Several factors have combined to lower the Negro membership while the total membership was climbing. Of 1100 members in May, 1948 only 110 were Negroes. Mr. York explained that employers felt more freedom to discriminate against Negroes now that the manpower shortage was no longer acute. Many members of 78 who served in the war were, of course, entitled to their old jobs which displaced some Negroes. Mr. York estimated that more than one hundred of 78's former Negro members had left the area. Some have transferred to the Construction Laborers' local. Some are unemployed.

Garage Employees 665 in San Francisco had a higher percentage of Negro members than 78 in May. Though the number had dropped from the high of 1100 during the war to a post-war 700, it was still one third of the 2400 membership. The washing and polishing jobs have gone in great number to the Negro workers, who have been very efficient in the work. No problem in adjustment between the two groups has appeared in Local 665 so far.

Automotive Warehousemen's Local 241 in San Francisco

had two Chinese members and one Negro member in May, 1948. Mr. McKeon, Secretary of Local 241, spoke of this one Negro member as a "crackerjack", liked by every man in the union for his efficiency and for himself. Mr. McKeon said that anybody showing discrimination against him would "have the whole gang in Local 241 down on his neck". No one would dare to discriminate against him. The reason that there have not been more Negroes in Local 241 lies in the fact that they have never been educated to the trade, which, Mr. McKeon pointed out was not the fault of the Negro. Although the "union usually gets the blame", Mr. McKeon felt that employer discrimination against Negroes, Jews, and Orientals was an important factor in limiting job opportunities for these minority groups. He felt that this accounted for the lack of Negro membership among the various "driver groups" in the Teamster union. Negroes were not used during the war in Local 241 because they did not know the trade. During the labor shortage, women were trained to take the jobs in auto parts work. Negroes were not so trained, however. The New Orleans local permits Negroes to "truck" the parts around, but not to work in the auto parts trade itself.

Streetcar Transport has seen some changes in the Negro's favor. Prior to the war, NAACP President Dellums informed the writer, despite the strength of Negroes in several city locals, and despite the added fact that the national union had one of the strongest anti-discrimination clauses in its by-laws, the East Bay Street Car Workers worked together with

management in the Key System to keep Negro workers off the job and out of the union. During the war, FEPC Administrator Kingman told the writer, the union discriminated, maintained a closed shop, and turned down all Negro applications. In the post-war period, however, with Mr. Rouiller as Business Agent for Division 192 of the Carmen, 100 Negro members have been integrated into the membership of 2000.

In San Francisco the Bay Area Council Against Discrimination reported the case of Negro Motorman Audrey Cole. Carmen's Local 518 had refused to train Mr. Cole as a motorman on the Municipal Railway. The BACAD brought the matter to the AFL Labor Council. The Council asked Carmen 518 to train Mr. Cole and the request was granted in August, 1942. The BACAD reported in April, 1944, the announcement of the Market Street Railway to employ qualified Negroes. The announcement had been made as Company policy in January, 1944. By April there were 50 Negroes in training without any difficulty, according to the BACAD report.

Railroad Transport among the AFL affiliates has at least three categories with respect to the Negro. There are the all Negro organizations, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Dining Car Cooks and Waiters. There are the white exclusionist unions, Railroad Telegraphers, Switchmen, and Railway Mail Association. And there are the unions which have removed the color bar, Maintenance of Way Employees, Railway and Steamship Clerks, Railway Carmen, and Firemen and Oilers.

Mr. McCloud of the Oakland Local, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, reported to the writer a Negro membership of 110 out of 550 in the local. San Francisco's local has approximately 50 Negroes in a membership of 125. There is no auxiliary local involved in either case. All members meet together.

The Clerks, who removed the color bar during the 1946 convention and instituted local option, have examples of the two differing options in the San Francisco and Oakland locals. Local 854 in San Francisco is a Caucasian local, while 6190 is a Negro local. Oakland's 802 is a mixed local. Mr. Larson, 802's Financial Secretary, reported 50 Negroes in 1500.

The Carmen, who removed the color bar in 1947, have 100 Negroes among their 1000 members in the Oakland local, according to Mr. Christoferro, Business Agent for the Carmen.

The Firemen and Oilers belong to a fourth category all by themselves, for they have accepted Negroes into regular membership right along. Local 812, Oakland and San Francisco, has 50 Negro members and 75 non-Negroes. Mr. Kincaid reported for Local 812. (1)

The removal of the color bar by these AFL railroad affiliates is one of the gains apparent for the Negro worker in transport. As exclusionist unions are reduced in number, it would seem fair to suggest that the gains accomplished for the Negro-American are more than economic, important as that

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(1) The "Big Four" exclusionist brotherhoods are not AFL affiliates, hence are not treated...Conductors, Engineers, Trainmen, and Firemen-Enginemen.

area may be. Among the Teamsters the most favorable unions to the Negro worker are not strictly "transportation" locals, as we have observed. Streetcar Transport in the Bay Area represents one of the more "visible" gains for Negro workers. So many people see the Negro worker when he takes his place on a streetcar platform. Water Transport is yet to offer the Negro an opportunity in the AFL affiliates.

FOOD, SHOWERS, AND LAUNDRIES

FOOD

1. Bakers 119, Oakland
2. Cracker Bakers 125, Oakland
3. Bakers 24, San Francisco
4. Bartenders 52, Oakland
5. Bartenders 41, San Francisco
6. Brewers and Maltsters 7, San Francisco
7. Butchers 120, Oakland
8. Butchers 115, San Francisco
9. Butchers 508, San Francisco
10. Cooks 228, Oakland
11. Cooks 44, San Francisco
12. Culinary Workers 31, Oakland
13. Culinary Workers 110, San Francisco
14. Food Clerks 870, Oakland
15. Grocery Clerks 648, San Francisco
16. Sausage Makers 203, San Francisco
17. Waitresses 48, San Francisco

Although Negro slaves did baking, butchering, cooking, and dishwashing for decades in the South and as free domestic servants have done these same tasks in both the South and the North, the organization by the unions of these trades and services has reduced the Negro's economic opportunity. Work that was once "tainted" by association with slavery and thus considered beneath the white worker has gradually ceased to be "Negro work". Especially during the depression 'thirties white workers invaded such fields and successfully displaced Negroes. Negro waiters in the South were displaced by white waitresses. In fact, by 1930 there were more Negro waiters in the North than in the South. The share of Negro waiters and waitresses in this service field was 22 per cent in 1910, but by 1930 had dropped to 15 per cent.

In the matter of organizing the Negro worker the Bakery and Confectionery Workers had such difficulty with mixed locals in the South that the national executives abandoned the effort and decided to issue separate charters to white and Negro locals. This decision was made in 1920 at the Seventh Convention. Eight years later the Bakers were able to report 190 Negro members. The 1920 census had reported 3164 Negro bakers. (1)

The Brewery, Flour and Cereal Workers claimed ten Negroes in 1910. The Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen reported one Negro in 1928. (2)

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(1) Spero and Harris, 70, 76, 83
(2) Ibid, 83-84

C. S.Johnson in 1930 found the Cooks and Waiters initiating Negroes into their white locals only to "push them off forthwith into a colored auxiliary with no power or vote". Separate locals in Boston played into the hands of employers by fighting between themselves "with such disastrous effects... that they merged". (1)

The writer's field work in this area found Mr. C. H. Bullock, Secretary of Bakers Local 119 in Oakland, giving special attention to the problem of referrals for the Negro members of his local. There were practically no Negroes in Local 119 before the war, but there was very little objection to accepting them in the local, the white girls making some complaints about sharing the same lockers with the Negro girls. The real problem for Mr. Bullock has been employer discrimination. Some "white shops" refuse Negro referrals. Therefore Mr. Bartholomew clears with the foreman to be sure the Negro member will not be rejected when he arrives. The 36 Negroes in Local 119's membership meet in the same union hall and are full and regular members of the local. Mr. Bullock has explained employer discrimination to the Negro members and has explained the position of the union. Negroes have appreciated prevention of referral refusals at "white shops". If no Negro has been employed in the shop previously, Mr. Bullock prepares the foreman to receive the Negro member before he is sent out. This technique is aimed at securing

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(1) C.S.Johnson, *The Negro in American Civilization*, 115

fair treatment for him and assuring acceptance without insult. Having discovered that employers often follow the practice of accepting the Negro member at first, then finding fault and dismissing him, Mr. Bullock tries to avoid this and give the Negro member a permanent placement the first time by ascertaining in advance the security or lack of security awaiting a potential Negro referral. The writer was impressed with the evident concern of this union leader for the personal feelings and the economic welfare of his Negro members.

Mr. Henry Simpson of Cracker Bakers Local 125 gave the writer the same story of employer discrimination which faced Mr. Bartholomew. As Business Agent of Local 125, Mr. Simpson assured the writer that the union accepts the membership application of every worker hired, but does not control the hiring. Local 125 had one Negro male member before the war who is still with them. During the war Negro women were hired and in May, 1948 Local 125 had 21 of them in its 1100 member local.

Bakers Local 24 in San Francisco had no Negro members among its 800 workers in May, 1948. Mr. Glover of the Urban League reported in that month that there was one case pending, which, if negotiated successfully, would give Local 24 its first Negro member. Having failed in none of the twelve instances of membership negotiations with unions in San Francisco, Mr. Glover's optimism about the acceptance of the applicant is shared by the writer.

The Butchers in other areas than the Bay Area not only have Negro members in the locals, but have elected Negro officers. Mr. William Tate serves his Chicago local as a business agent. In the Bay Area the practice has ordinarily been to leave the Negro retail butcher out of the organization. Butchers Local 115 in San Francisco reported to the writer that the Negro retail butchers in the Fillmore District were not included in the organization. It was not proposed that white butchers serve the Negro trade in the Fillmore area. The policy advocated is to have white butchers waiting on white customers and Negro butchers serving Negro customers, the latter in non-union shops. The non-union colored shop has seemedto be preferable to the inclusion of colored members in the union. Local 115 has 3000 members.

San Francisco Local 508 is the local to which Negro applicants are referred when they come to Local 115. This includes packinghouse workers and other jurisdictions which offer employment and union opportunities to Negroes. In fact, the office estimated that between 500 and 600 of Local 508's 1200 were Negroes (May, 1948.)

Sausage Makers 203 in San Francisco in the same month had 500 members with 16 Negro girls and 2 Negro men. The membership of the Negroes has come about as a result of the war time labor shortage. The 18 Negro members are "getting along well". The office interview disclosed that there had been some discussion about having the Negro members included at a recent dance put on by Local 203. The Negro members

were "anxious to come" and the white members did not see how they could be left out if it was to be a function of Local 203, for they were certainly members in good standing and met with the whites in the union hall without segregation. They were included and kept to themselves over in one corner of the dance floor "not giving anybody any trouble".

Butchers 119 in Oakland, during a visit of the writer to its office in the Labor Temple, reported the recent organization of four Oakland and three Richmond markets, in which colored retail butchers are at work. This includes 8 or 10 Negro butchers in Local 119. There were 15 other Negro members already, however, working in the packinghouses and with the sausage makers. Local 119 has included Chinese members for some time. The writer has traded in three such retail butcher shops in Berkeley alone, employing two Chinese union butchers in each shop.

Bartenders Local 52 in Oakland and 41 in San Francisco have proved to be "a stumbling block for the rest of the culinary workers" in the matter of including Negroes. The Bartenders in Los Angeles have gone along with the Culinary Workers in the Central Avenue District, so the Los Angeles local now includes colored members. Mr. C. L. Dellums, in the interviews given the writer during his field work, told of a recent incident involving the Bartenders and the Dining Car Cooks and Waiters. The latter as "Club Car Attendants" had been tending bar on trains for half a century, but with the introduction of the new streamliners white bartenders

were put on the trains. The DCCW fought for and won back the jurisdiction for their union. In a decision made on December 1, 1947, the DCCW were granted hiring control and the same salary schedule as the white bartenders were receiving at the time. The salary schedule will mean improved economic status for the DCCW members who get the assignments. There is one catch. The white bartenders may hold their present jobs as long as they want them, but may not be replaced by new referrals from the Bartenders Union. In this instance the invasion of a field traditionally reserved for the Negro worker was not successful. The DCCW protected the job rights of its membership.

Brewers and Maltsters Local 7 of San Francisco also reported no Negroes among its 375 members.

The writer's interview with Mr. Jack Faber, President of Cooks Local 228, elicited the information that 450 Negro cooks help to make up the union's total of 3000. San Francisco's Local 44 included 50 Negroes among 2300 cooks. A neighbor of the writer, who belongs to Local 44, secured the estimate from the local office. From this neighbor and from an acquaintance in the Oakland local the confirmation of no discrimination in either local was gained.

The interviews with Mr. Dellums confirmed the Spero and Harris description of the policies of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees. The locals may accept Negroes if they so vote, but the general rule has been separation. In the Bay Area no special effort has been made to organize the Negro culinary

workers in West Oakland or other predominantly Negro districts, due to the problem of referral out of the Negro area to a "white cafe". The union in Oakland has had a Negro member on its executive board for the past eleven years, but he is so nearly white that it is not widely known. Mr. Dellums had not known of it and took the trouble to verify it by phone during the writer's visit to his office.

Culinary Workers 31 of Oakland does include 1000 Negro dishwashers among its 4000 members. There is no problem of referral out to the "white cafe" involved with these members since Negro dishwashers have an almost universal acceptance, even by the most discriminatory employers, who consider this suitable work for the Negro. Culinary Workers 110 in San Francisco includes 650 Negro dishwashers in its 2500 members. Waitresses 48 have 250 Negro bus girls in their organization of 6000. Were it not for employer discrimination in even this job classification, there would be more Negro bus girls in San Francisco, according to President Faber of Cooks 228. An interview with Mr. James D'Arcy, Secretary-Treasurer of Culinary Workers 31, brought out his conviction that there is no adjustment problem among the membership. They meet in the same hall and share equal rights and privileges. An acquaintance of the writer who is affiliated with the local said that this had been her experience as a member of 31.

Food Clerks Local 870 cover a jurisdiction in which the hiring is done by management. This accounts for the fact that only a half dozen Negro members are enrolled in 870.

This was explained to the writer by Mr. Charles Ormstead, Secretary of Local 870, and by Mr. Henry T. S. Johnson, Jr., Secretary of Alameda County's NAACP. The situation is about the same in San Francisco's Local 648 of the Grocery Clerks. The interview there indicated that about a dozen members of the 1800 clerks are Negroes.

The seventeen locals in this classification, with five entirely excluding Negroes and six having less than forty Negro members, find the bulk of the 3000 Negro workers estimated for the Bay Area locals concentrated among the Culinary Workers, the Cooks, and Butchers Local 508 in San Francisco. Though not a significant local from the quantitative standpoint, the treatment accorded Negro members in Bakers Local 119 in Oakland deserves mention.

The classification of "Negro jobs" has been evident in this section of the study, which is, of course, one of the barriers to enlarged areas of employment and to promotion and upgrading within the areas now open to Negroes.

CLOTHING

1. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, San Francisco
2. United Garment Workers Local 131, San Francisco
3. Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers Local 40, San Francisco

The ILGWU has already been mentioned as a union which met the Negro strike breaker with an invitation to join the union. It has been mentioned as one of the two major AFL "one big union" affiliates, along with the United Mine Workers. Its non-discrimination policy has been effective enough to elicit from the AFL President of the Oakland local of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters the assurance that in all his travels about the United States he had heard no complaints anywhere against the ILGWU. In the New York Recreation Hall of the ILGWU the white and colored dance, play, and swim together.

Like the ILWU, however, which has a good reputation in the Bay Area for fair treatment of the Negro, the ILGWU Secretary of the San Francisco local, Mrs. Jenny Matyas, like Mr. Paul Heidi of the ILWU, expressed the need for a continual campaign of education among the union rank and file. The problem of integration has never been a simple one, according to Mrs. Matyas, and is made difficult outside the union membership by the employer who specifies and discriminates. Although the San Francisco organization includes a Chinese local and has an estimated 600 Negroes among its 3000 members, the employees need constant education against discrimination, "just like the church and the city". The leadership of the union is committed to a policy of non-discrimination, which the writer feels is fortunate for the Negro clothing worker in San Francisco.

Mrs. Nellie Casey, Secretary of Local 131, United Garment Workers-AFL, told the writer that Negro employment and union membership in the trade had come about largely during the war. One employer accounts for most of Local 131's Negroes, and they are found almost exclusively in the job of "pressers". The acceptance on the part of the membership has been achieved without incident or apparent resentment. The Negro workers make up 50 of the membership list of 700.

Millinery Workers Local 40 in San Francisco, Mr. Burkhardt, Secretary of the local furnishing the information, received its Negro members during the war also. During the war a trade depending upon styles and style changes naturally dropped off. The membership reached a level of 300, which has continued through the first five months of 1948 to be the size of the local. While white workers were dropping out of the union in war time, the working force went so far down that Negroes were employed to make up the shortage. Of the 25 employed during the war 12 remain in Local 40. Anticipation of any membership change should be up rather than down, which should protect even the low seniority Negro member.

These sample unions from the clothing industry would, on the whole, appear to be favorable to continued Negro employment in the trade.

LAUNDRIES

1. Cleaners and Dyers Local 23, Oakland
2. Cleaners and Dyers Local 7, San Francisco
3. Laundry Workers 2, Oakland
4. Laundry Workers 26, San Francisco

Myrdal offers as the most significant example of the displacement of the Negro worker the commercial laundry. The Negro home laundress, constituting the second largest Negro service worker group, has been replaced by this "industrialization" of laundry service in 97,000 individual job instances over two decades. The 368,000 figure for 1910 had been reduced to 271,000 in 1930. About half the loss has been made up by the increase of Negroes on the labor crews of the commercial laundries. During the same twenty year period the number of Negroes employed rose from 15,000 in 1910 to 60,000 in 1930. The whites gained proportionally only half as many jobs in the two decades. (1)

In 1930 the classification of laundry operative was at the top among manual labor jobs for Negro women in Chicago. 5000 Negro operatives constituted 55.4 per cent of the work force. Ranking sixth for Negro men, 1470 operatives made up 26.3 per cent of the work force. At the same time there were only 3000 Negro women who earned a living by washing clothes in the employer's home or by taking the laundry to their own homes. The AFL Laundry Workers included 2000 whites and 8000 Negroes in the depression 'thirties. (2)

New York laundries in 1927 were not working black and white in the same plants, but were employing one or the other. The better paying jobs, drivers, markers, sorters, and washers, were going to whites, these classifications ranging from $30

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(1) Myrdal, 1087-1088
(2) Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 229, 250

to $60 per week. The poorer paying jobs, workers, assistant washers, wringers, and pullers, ranging from $12 to $25 per week were open to colored workers. (1)

The United States Women's Bureau made a study in 1934 of 22 cities in the North, Mid-west, and South to find that white men comprised 11.8 per cent of the production workers, Negro men 5.6 per cent, white women 46.5 per cent, and Negro women 36.1 per cent. Northrup, who reports the study, feels that inclusion of the Pacific Coast would have reduced the percentage of Negro workers. The truck drivers and mechanics were usually white men, the office help, white women. Wages above $750 a year were practically unknown before unionism and Negro women were paid below $300 per year. Prior to 1936 the 36 year old Laundry Workers Union had seldom recorded more than 5000 members on its rolls. San Francisco, Chicago, and Philadelphia were among the cities to launch organizing drives in 1936. Ten years later the membership had decupled.

Negroes have been well integrated into the union, having been elected to office in various locals and holding a good proportion of the shop stewards' positions. (2)

Laundry Workers Local 2 in Oakland had no Negro members before the war. President East told the writer that the war time membership high of 1050 was composed of about 775 Negro members and 275 whites. In 1948 the membership had dropped to 500 with an almost exactly equal number of white and

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(1) Spero and Harris, 177
(2) Northrup, 132-133

colored. Although this constitutes a loss of 525 war time jobs for Negro laundry workers, from another standpoint it constitutes a clear employment gain of 250 workers over the pre-war status. A very similar experience was reported to the writer during his visit to the San Francisco office of Laundry Workers 26. During the war between 800 and 1000 Negroes were paying dues into Local 26. In 1948 their numbers had been reduced to some figure between 300 and 400. Negro workers have always been accepted into full membership in Local 26. There are still some San Francisco employers who refuse to employ the Negro laundry worker, according to several members of the union office force, who seemed to resent the discrimination, although none were Negroes.

Cleaners and Dyers Local 7 in San Francisco had only 3 Negro members before Pearl Harbor. During the war between 300 and 350 got jobs and came into the union. There has been no loss of membership among these workers, the Negro still held between 300 and 350 when the writer visited the Local 7 union office in May, 1948. There are more Negroes than whites in Local 7, since the entire membership numbers only 600.

Cleaners and Dyers Local 23 in Oakland has had Negro members since 1934. In the beginning it was necessary to do battle with the employers who refused the Negro workers. Mr. A. G. Alameda told the writer of the difficulty which has been with the local for 14 years, employer discrimination continuing to be a problem for the union and the Negro member in 1948. NAACP President Dellums told of an employer who

had taken on a Negro dyer. He liked his work and wanted to keep him on, but since he was visible to the public from the sidewalk as he worked, the employer released him from the plant's employ. The NAACP offered its help and the Negro dyer returned to his union, Local 34. The local pulled out all the workers in the plant and went on the picket line. The employer gave in and re-hired the Negro dyer who went on working in sight of the passing public with no apparent economic loss to the establishment.

Describing the same instance, Mr. Alameda, Business Representative of Local 34, said it was the only time the local had been forced to go all the way and declare a strike. It was not the only instance of employer discrimination, the threat of a strike proving successful in another instance, and the firm stand of the union proving sufficient in several other cases. There is no auxiliary status in Local 34, all members are equal. The white members have gone beyond the negative policy of no discrimination to a militant support of Negro members threatened with employer discrimination. This possibly accounts for the fact that the Negroes show a better attendance average and a keener interest in the union than the white members. At the time of the interview, May, 1948, the local had 1200 in the union. 350 were Negroes.

Vestiges of employer discrimination appear to be the chief threat against the Negro laundry worker in the Bay Area, but the position of the Negro Union member has considerably improved over his pre-war status.

PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL, AND SERVICE

The Musicians Union does not always practice segregation. In Bradford, Pa., Local 84 is a mixed local with a majority of white members. Negro Howard Matthews is reported to have held every office in the local, "the most popular leader of Musicians No. 84." (1)

Myrdal takes care to point out that the Negro's proportional representation in the field is less than his proportion in the population. His share of musicians' jobs in the 1930 census was 6 per cent of the total. His proportion of the population was 9.7 in the same year.

Segregation is the rule in the South and the mixed local the exception in the North. New York City is one of the few mixed unions affording equal treatment to Negro AFL musicians. In other areas white locals control employment opportunities and Negroes must secure permission from the white local in order to obtain jobs under this policy. (2)

The Musicians in the Bay Area practice strict segregation. Local 6 in San Francisco is an all white local with 5000 members. Local 510 in the East Bay is an all white local with 250 members. The Negro Local 669 in San Francisco has 292 members.

The Motion Picture Projectionists, with about 300 members in the two Bay Area locals, 162 in San Francisco and 169 in Oakland, have no Negro members and no provision for a Negro local, although the national union has no mention of color

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(1) Pie in the Sky, 9
(2) Myrdal, 329, 330

exclusion in its constitution. The writer was informed by a labor leader, not a member of the Projectionists, that the locals were very tightly controlled and wage rates relatively high. The chances of a Negro breaking into such a limited job area must be admitted to be fairly remote.

Pharmacists 878 in San Francisco has never drawn the color line. Mr. Byron Rumford, Berkeley pharmacist and Negro leader, told the writer he was a charter member of the San Francisco local when it was number 1172. He and the other Negro member of the local were treated just like all the rest and knew the other men in the union well. Mr. Rumford has gone into business now and the other Negro member went into the armed services during the war, so there were no Negro members of 878 in May, 1948. Mr. Rumford assured the writer that Local 878 would welcome a Negro pharmacist any time.

Negro barbers once held a practical monopoly in the South, but today, as Myrdal says,

> "In only a few old cities on the Atlantic Coast the observer meets an old Negro barber, catering to a passing generation of Southern gentlemen." (1)

C. S. Johnson reports that the Barbers Union in Chicago has a Negro organizer, but that there is an attempt made in California to discourage Negro membership in the union. (2)

Discussing the Barbers Local 148 in San Francisco, Mr. Glover of the Urban League pointed out that the Negro barber

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(1) Myrdal, 282

(2) Johnson, 115

was dependent upon Negro trade. Joining the union would not offer him a chance to work in the white shops, which are strictly segregated. The values of union membership are therefore of a rather questionable nature from the viewpoint of the segregated Negro barber. If he joins the union, he works in a segregated shop and pays dues, if he does not join the union, he works in the same segregated shop and does not pay dues. A few Negro barbers feel that it is worth while to join the union and pay the dues. They generally do not belong to the union. This has been the case in Local 134 in Oakland. The writer's interview with the union office secured the information that Local 134 had offered to help the Negroes establish their own local. Up to May, 1948, however, the Negro barbers in the East Bay had not accepted the offer. All of Local 134's 800 members are white. No Negro barber in the East Bay belongs to the union.

Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen Local 89 with 75 members in Oakland and San Francisco has no Negro members. Technical Engineers 11 in San Francisco, however, has 5 Negroes among its 100 members. Mr. Glover reported some difficulty about the placing of one of the five, but he was finally accepted.

Typographical Union Local 21 in San Francisco and Local 36 in Oakland have no Negro members. Membership for the two bodies totals 1500 for Local 21 and 560 for Local 36. The Oakland local is attempting to organize the Negro "typos" now. One application is on file at present (May, 1948).

The local has encountered a difficulty in the lack of understanding of trade union ethics. Mr. Jack Austin, Secretary-Treasurer of Local 36, reported that after issuing permits to the Negro "typos", several men have been found working in the shops without cards. The problem is one of education as the men have not been deliberately attempting to violate trade union practices. A typical response to an inquiry about the men working in the shops without cards, according to Mr. Austin, has been, "Oh, it's O.K., they're friends of mine". Mr. Austin reported the organization of Negroes in the trade in several major cities in the nation, all in the same local, which, he feels, may reasonably be expected in the Bay Area.

Printing Pressmen Local 125, with a membership of 200 in Oakland, has no Negro members, but one application was pending in May of 1948. There are Chinese members in Local 125. Ink and Roller Makers Local 5 in Berkeley, an affiliate of the Printers, has 30 Negro members among its 200, who meet in the same hall and enjoy full status as regular members. Mr. Brown, a member of the local, told the writer that the Negroes all worked in the cooper department, washing drums and kits. The caustic soda used in removing ink, a process formerly handled by whites, burned so many workers that whites refused to work on the jobs. Negroes have since taken their places. Each of the 30 Negro members has served a six months probationary period, as have the other 170 members in the local, so apparently the caustic soda has not been sufficiently injurious to cause them to quit their jobs. The Pressmen

in San Francisco's Local 24 have about a half dozen Negroes in the union.

Office Employees Local 3 in San Francisco has 200 members, no Negroes. The office explained that employers have not hired Negroes in the "white collar" or clerical jobs. Local 36 in San Francisco has 500 members, no Negroes, same reason. Local 29 in Oakland, however, reported in May, 1948, a half dozen Negro office employees among its 1000 members. During the war Local 29, according to Secretary-Treasurer Ray Colliver, had 5000 members, 35 of whom were Negroes.

Bottlers896, with 1800 members in Oakland and San Francisco, has no Negro members. Glass Bottle Blowers 141, with jurisdiction in Oakland and San Francisco, has 20 Negroes in its 450 total. The Coppersmiths Local 438 in San Francisco, according to two coppersmiths interviewed by the writer in the absence of the business agent, have never had any Negro members. The two coppersmiths have worked in the trade in other areas also, and reported that they had never seen a Negro coppersmith. Glaziers Local 718 in San Francisco has accepted one Negro member through the influence of the Urban League. Mr. Glover feels that this "first" may reasonably be expected to have set a precedent for future Negro glaziers being accepted into 718.

One of the most interesting exclusionists contacted by the writer was Mr. Harris of Upholsterers Local 28. Mr. Harris had been a member of the union for a number of years. Long ago he had warned the Upholsterers about the possibility of

Negroes desiring to join the union. At the time he was convinced that an examining board would be effective in keeping out all the Negro applicants, even if the ones who passed the test were to be admitted. Mr. Harris did not feel that any of the Negro applicants could pass the test. Local 28 is an all white local with 450 members. Another smaller local in San Francisco, Local 3, although Mr. Harris had not heard about it when the writer was in his office in May, 1948, had accepted a Negro, after Mr. Glover of the Urban League had arranged with the local for him to take the test, which he apparently passed. Mr. Harris was frank enough to say that until his generation passed on there would always be discrimination in the unions.

Department and Specialty Store Employees Local 1265 in Oakland was one of the unions figuring in the 1947 Kahn-Hastings strike. Negro workers were on the picket line with the whites, according to the NAACP Secretary in Oakland, and have been given fair treatment by the union and by Mr. Philpott, Secretary of Local 1265. During an interview with the latter the writer learned that the 15 Negro members in the 1100 membership were still in the stock rooms. Upgrading Negroes to selling positions, an aim of the local, has so far been unsuccessful. Department Store Employees Local 1100 in San Francisco had 75 Negroes in May, 1948, according to Mr. Larry Vail, Secretary of the local. Prior to the war there were very few in the jurisdiction of the local. Hired during the war, they have since held jobs as stock girls, culinary

workers, matrons, and window trimmers. There has been no upgrading to salesmen or salesladies for the Negro members of Local 1100. The local has 5000 members.

Lumber Clerks 939 in Oakland had ten Negro members prior to the war, but due to war hiring of Negroes have 50 among their 450 members.

The Scrap Iron Metal Workers have Negro members in both Bay Area locals. Oakland 1088 has 100 in a total of 500. San Francisco 965 has 40 among 200.

Of more practical economic importance to the Negro worker than any of the above mentioned Professional, Technical, or Service groups is the Building Service Employees Union, with locals in San Francisco and Oakland. The writer made a visit to the headquarters of Local 87. By going from office to office in the building it was possible to secure estimates of the Negro membership in the various jurisdictions, which are not united in San Francisco as they are in Oakland. The seven locals were independently of the opinion that the biggest barrier to the Negro in the building service jobs is employer discrimination. It was not so serious in the war, but has been returning to its pre-war level since 1945. Sherman-Clay, Shell, the White House, and the Spreckels Building were singled out as notable exceptions to the rule of employer discrimination. These were the opinions of the white union members. In no case did the writer contact a Negro union member in any of the local offices.

Elevator Operators and Starters 117 with 900 members

reported only 10 Negroes. Apartment and Hotel Employees 14 estimated that of their 1200 members 360 were Negroes. Hospital and Institutional Workers 250 estimated 550 Negro members in a total of 1850. Civil Service Building and Maintenance Employees 66A estimated that 65 of their 480 members were Negroes. Hotel Service Workers 283 gave an estimate of 450 Negro members among 3100. Janitors 87 estimated 450 in 3000. Window Cleaners 44 estimated 50 Negro members in 365. In round numbers this would give the Negro building service worker a total of almost 2000 members in the various local jurisdictions, which makes building service a major economic factor in the life of the San Francisco Negro.

Mr. W. W. Geldert, Secretary of Oakland Local 18 of the Building Service Employees Union, gave the writer one of the most satisfactory interviews during two months of field work among Bay Area labor leaders. His story of Local 18 started in April, 1935, when the union was a monopoly of building service workmen of Italian ancestry. By the time World War II broke out many other groups had broken the monopoly and among them were the Negro building service workers, who in 1941 made up between 20 and 25 per cent of the work force in the local. During the war the Negro membership was equal to all other color and national groups put together. 1000 of Local 18's 2000 members were Negroes. In April, 1948 the membership was down to 1500 and the Negro proportion was between 550 and 600.

Before the war the employers in the hotels and in the office buildings refused to hire Negro workers, using the "light-fingered" stereotype, claiming they would steal things from the rooms in the hotels and the offices in the office buildings. Experience in the war taught the employer that the stereotype was false, that the Negroes were good workers. In the Hotel Claremont in Berkeley 50 per cent of the maid service is now colored help.

Local 18 has had four incidents involving discrimination during and since the war. In the first instance a Negro girl was promoted to leaderman on a shipyard job. An anti-Negro union member of Local 18 circulated a petition to have her demoted. The discriminatory Caucasian member was called into the office and reminded of her constitutional oath taken at the time of induction into the union. The member was unable to overcome her prejudice, however, and finally left the job. In the second instance a window cleaner refused to go to work under a Negro foreman. This was handled quite simply. The unwilling worker did not get the job. The third instance involved the FEPC. The Kaiser Company had lost a white janitress and specified a white janitress when replacement was requested of Local 18. Local 18 sent out a white janitress. A Negro janitress, meanwhile, had heard of the job opening and came into the union office to ask for the referral. The union told her that the company had specified a white janitress and that the referral had already been made. The Negro janitress petitioned the FEPC, but the Committee cleared the union as there had been no violation

of FEPC. The fourth instance involved a discriminatory white foreman who used abusive language on Negro workers. The local held a trial in the union office and assessed a fine against the offender of $150. The foreman resigned. The Negro workers appreciated the union's "going to bat" for them.

Mr. Geldert felt that the presence of so many women in the union might account for the general harmonious relations in the local. At the annual Christmas party and dance all members were invited, attended, and no social problem was evident. As a general observation Mr. Geldert believed that the Negro unionist took his membership obligations a little more seriously than the white.

One local outside the jurisdiction, Theatrical Local 121, has no Negro members, constituting another monopoly of workers of Italian ancestry.

One of the problems facing Local 18 is the practice of non-union Negroes claiming union membership to obtain jobs ahead of the union Negroes who have been waiting for them via the regular hiring process. Local 18 is working with the employers to stop this practice by asking that they be more careful about asking for clearance cards from the union.

Mr. Geldert felt that Oakland's increased Negro population helped to account both for the number of Negro unemployed in the city and the Negro's gain in union membership.

The position of the Negro building service workman would appear to have improved as a result of war time employment afforded the Negro worker.

FACTUAL SUMMARY OF 163 AFL LOCALS CONTACTED

A total of 163 AFL locals were contacted in the Bay Area, 76 in San Francisco, 75 in the East Bay, and 12 with jurisdiction on both sides of the Bay. The total membership of the locals by geographical division is listed below. The Negro membership by geographical division is listed also.

Jurisdiction	Members	Negro Members
San Francisco locals	105,004	9,225
East Bay locals	68,452	8,871
Twin-jurisdiction locals	22,495	857
Totals	195,951	18,953

The total membership of the locals in the five classifications studied are listed below. Negro membership is also listed.

Classification by Occupation	Members	Negro Members
Building Trades	57,398	6,442
Metals-Machinery	37,868	2,638
Transportation	29,085	1,737
Food-Clothing-Laundries	39,075	5,006
Professional-Technical-Service	32,525	3,130
Totals	195,951	18,953

The table below lists the number of locals in each numerical range, according to the Negro members reported.

Locals reporting 0	55
Locals reporting 1-10	23
Locals reporting 11-25	21
Locals reporting 26-50	17
Locals reporting 51-100	13
Locals reporting 101-200	8
Locals reporting 201-300	6
Locals reporting 301-400	6
Locals reporting 401-500	4
Locals reporting 501-1000	8
Locals reporting 1001-2000	1
Locals reporting over 2000	1
	163

Five locals, the two Common Laborers' locals, the two Culinary Workers' locals, and the San Francisco Molders' local accounted for approximately 30 per cent of the Negro members reported in the 163 AFL locals contacted. The two Building Service Employees' groups accounted for another 15 per cent of the Negroes reported. Nine locals affiliated with the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners made an approximately 10 per cent of the total reported.

The 55 locals reporting no Negro members in their unions represent over 50,000 AFL trade unionists in the Bay Area. The largest locals in this all white group are the Seafarers,

Plumbers and Steamfitters Local 38, Machinists Local 68, Masters, Mates, and Pilots Local 90, Butchers Local 115, and Musicians Local 6. 45 locals, on the other hand, reported 100 or more Negro members. This left 63 locals reporting between one and 99 Negro members.

The 18,953 Negro AFL unionists make up 9.6 per cent of the total membership of the 163 locals contacted. Of the 108 locals in which they have membership, excluding the 55 which reported no membership for Negroes, they make up 14.2 per cent. There are two mixed locals, the Oakland Laborers local and the Shipyard and Marine Shop Laborers, in which Negro members are actually a majority. In the Oakland Laborers local they outnumber the non-Negroes 1210-1190. In the Ship and Shop Laborers local they outnumber the non-Negro membership 750 to 500.

In a number of instances the Negro worker made his initial entrance into an AFL union during the war, often contributing hundreds, or even thousands, to the local's membership. The return to peace time production has quite often found a residual number of this war time group in the various locals. The writer's field work indicated substantial war time gains for Negro workers in AFL unions in the San Francisco Bay Area.

CHAPTER IV

THE CIO

The gentleman from Sweden, who came to America at the invitation of the Carnegie Foundation to compile the study of the Negro-American, included in his comprehensive book this statement about the CIO:

> "When the CIO organized the mass production industries, it followed the principle that Negroes should be organized together with whites, wherever Negroes were working before unionization." (1)

The "one big union" concept lent itself more readily to the inclusion of the Negro worker than the craft union principle. The Negro had not been given many opportunities to acquire the necessary skills required in the crafts. He was working in the big industrial plants. Strike breaking and the labor vacuum had helped him to get into these plants. The cooperation of the Negro worker in organizing industrial unions would partially eliminate the threat of strike breaking while the new union was being tested in the initial struggles with management. Labor solidarity seemed to be one of the necessary factors to the success of the CIO.

On the eve of the CIO's major organizing campaigns in Steel, Rubber, Auto, Packing, and Textiles this summary of the Negro's place in the labor movement was made by Ina Corinne Brown:

> "The Negro generally lacks the help that other groups get through their labor organizations. When the Negroes first went North in large numbers their entrance into the industrial world was opposed by organized labor. The colored worker had no tradition of organization and his accustomed attitude was one of loyalty to the boss to whom he looked for

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(1) Myrdal, 402.

> help and not to fellow workers opposed to the owners. He was refused entrance to most unions, and this fact, combined with his traditional habits, led him into the role of scab and strike breaker. Certain unions have been more liberal than others in accepting Negroes, and in some cases he has worked out separate organizations. On the whole, however, the colored worker is outside the ranks of organized labor." (1)

To bring him into the ranks of organized labor the CIO enunciated in its Constitution a solidarity objective.

> "To bring about the effective organization of the working men and women of America regardless of race, creed, color or nationality, and to unite them for common action into labor unions for their mutual aid and protection." (2)

A clause in a constitution does not guarantee the practice of the principle involved. The AFL had written similar clauses and resolutions. A constitutional provision against discrimination is as old as the AFL itself. In spite of this, and in spite of the United Mine Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Ina Corinne Brown put the colored worker outside the labor movement after 60 years of AFL domination over the labor movement in America.

Negro leadership offered mixed reactions. The National Negro Congress endorsed the CIO organizing campaign among Negro workers by actually paying a portion of the salaries of some of the Negro organizers for CIO. The NAACP leadership was split on the CIO. The progressives favored the new union for its non-discrimination stand. The more conservative leaders were antagonistic on the grounds of left-wing influence

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(1) Ina Corinne Brown, The Story of the American Negro, 139 (Underlining ours)

(2) Joseph Gaer, The First Round, 467.

in the CIO. The National Urban League issued an initial warning to caution Negro workers against a headlong rush into the ranks of the CIO. The activities of the new union within a few months brought about a change of attitude. Lester B. Granger, NUL Secretary, praised the social intelligence of the CIO leadership, which he contrasted with that of the old line AFL leaders. The CIO interest in civil rights, organizing the unorganized, protecting the welfare of the unemployed pleased Mr. Granger because Negroes furnish so large a proportion of the unorganized, the unemployed, and the victims of civil rights violation. The CIO began to be discussed among Negro leaders outside the labor movement as a new champion of their people. The NUL's Reginald Johnson was not able to find examples of discrimination against Negro members in the CIO. NUL's Arnold Hill, while he criticized the CIO for lack of cooperation with available organizations which could facilitate organization among Negroes, assured the CIO of NUL's 100 per cent support. (1)

Northrup, severe in his criticism of groups he suspects of discrimination, gave the CIO a fairly clean bill of health after eight years of organizing and integrating Negro workers into the new labor movement. He does not say that colored workers have never been accorded unfair treatment by either CIO members or CIO locals, but he does give the new union complete clearance at the national level for not excluding Negro members and for not segregating them into Jim Crow

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(1) Cayton and Mitchell, Black Workers and the New Unions, 409-422

auxiliaries. He goes further to credit the Steelworkers, Auto Workers, and Marine and Shipbuilding Workers for practical attempts to enforce a literal interpretation of the CIO's constitutional clause in the matters of seniority and up-grading. (1)

Myrdal, in discussing Northern antagonism toward the Negro worker during World War II, observed that Northern white workers were more set against the Negro worker than ever before. The exception he makes, "in so far as they are not under the effective influence of certain CIO unions", is praise for the CIO. (2)

William Hard, as he insists that "whites and blacks can work together, is high in his praise for the practical understanding of CIO leadership. They have been able to see that Negro workers will be inside the labor movement, adding strength to it, or outside the labor movement, helping employers to destroy it. In this Mr. Hard sees hope for the American labor movement working toward equality of economic opportunity for the black worker. (3)

Endorsements can be over-enthusiastic. In the light of the Negro worker's past, pro-union sentiment among Negro labor leaders was highly stimulated when the CIO came on the scene. Negro leadership which had claimed salvation for the Negro in labor solidarity was tempted to look upon the CIO as an economic Messiah. It was too much to expect of any

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(1) Northrup, 14-16.

(2) Myrdal, 410.

(3) Herrick and Askwith, This Way to Unity, 276.

new organization. The CIO had to function in America. The unionist was not made immune to race prejudice when he joined a new labor movement. Weaver warned that the early blanket endorsement of the CIO by Negro leaders might lead to an uncritical attitude toward the movement. He cautioned against the disillusionment that is sure to follow if hopes are set too high and endorsements made without reservation. (1)

The writer was once in the group making the "all-out" endorsement Weaver warns against. Weeks of field work among AFL locals, CIO locals, Negro leaders, and Caucasian authorities on labor and the Negro-American have convinced the writer that any other attitude than Weaver's is unfair to the CIO, the AFL, the Negro, and the friends of labor and the Negro.

Weaver has not praised the CIO without reservation. He has indicated satisfaction with the marked increase of Negro membership and the increase in some instances of Negro participation in the labor movement. In this development the CIO has had an important part. The part of United Auto Workers in allaying the violence of the Detroit race riot and the National Maritime Union's successful fight to secure ship command for qualified Negroes are illustrations Weaver cites to show a new concept in the labor movement toward the economic plight of the Negro worker. (2).

The CIO itself has warned against mistaking preaching for

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(1) Weaver, 220, 231.
(2) Ibid, 231-234.

practice. The new union has issued a number of pamphlets to educate CIO membership on the problems involved in combatting discrimination. It is pointed out that national policy does not guarantee local cooperation. Workers are warned against tactics of discrimination used by management. Members are urged to insist upon non-discrimination clauses in master agreements with management. The dismissal of white CIO members and retention of Negro CIO workers is defended on the basis of the seniority principle. The danger to labor solidarity in racial divisiveness is urged. The practice of "scape-goating" and the use of racial epithets, jokes, and dialect stories are discouraged. Segregation of any kind in labor relations is condemned. The establishment of local committees to abolish racial discrimination are counselled. (1)

It has been suggested that the efforts of the CIO to give the Negro greater economic opportunity have spurred the AFL to give thought to a large inclusion of the Negro worker. Myrdal observed that the CIO had refused to consider re-affiliation with the AFL until that body eliminates discrimination from its member unions. (2)

The Southern Policy Committee of the AFL issued a pamphlet titled, "Pie...in the Sky? A Challenge to the Negro Worker", in which the AFL record is set forth in glowing terms, 650,000 Negro workers are claimed for the AFL in contrast to the 400,000 claimed by the CIO. The CIO is depicted as Moscow controlled

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(1) CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination, Working and Fighting Together, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18

(2) Myrdal, 1300.

Red Fascism and its pronouncements on the race problem described as "noisy bunk". The pamphlet sounds as though its author might have been stung into making a response to the CIO's organizing campaign in the South, though the quality of the response leaves much to be desired.

In the Bay Area, Mr. Harry Kingman, FEPC expediter during the war, told the writer that only about 10 per cent of all FEPC cases involved the AFL and the CIO. He stated that the few complaints against the CIO were pretty well taken care of, the two recalcitrants being longshore locals outside the Bay District. The CIO "brass" attempted to straighten out these locals with some success.

The analysis of the Bay Area CIO unions, due to the "one big union" concept, and due to the fact that the unions are not very old, indicates a simpler task. The results of the writer's field work among the CIO leaders and other leaders whose comments touched the CIO-Negro-American topic follow.

FOOD, TOBACCO, AGRICULTURAL AND ALLIED
WORKERS OF AMERICA

The United Cannery and Agricultural Workers-CIO received classification from Northrup with the left wing sections of the CIO which include the Fur and Leather Workers and the ILWU on the West Coast. Such a union may be "a militant champion of the Negro's rights. (1)

The union moved into organizing competition with the AFL affiliate, the Tobacco Workers' International Union, in the South, pursuing the policy of mixed unions where workers were mixed in the jurisdictional pattern. The CIO affiliate has organized all white and all Negro locals where no mixed jurisdiction existed, but has enuciated the mixed union policy in such jurisdictions as offered this possibility. The TWIU had never tried to break the color pattern. The stand of the CIO affiliate has won NLRB elections by securing the Negro workers' votes. In fact, one instance in which the CIO group compromised on mixed bargaining units to expedite an election resulted in a 30 vote margin for no union in a 5797 vote election (Winston-Salem, N.C.). The vote was not between the AFL and CIO groups, as the TWIU polled only 115 votes, but over the issue of whether or not the CIO should represent the workers. A previous election in the stemmery unit where the mixed union stand had been made by the United Cannery and Agricultural Workers-CIO the vote had been 20 for the TWIU, 236 for "no union", and 3598 for the CIO. The mixed union policy has given the white press a powerful weapon to use

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(1) Northrup, 235.

against the CIO, which has put the new union so completely on the defensive on the accusation of social equality that the economic problem of upgrading the Negro to break the racial pattern of the industry will probably not be attempted in the near future for fear of losing what gains the union and the Negro have already won. (1)

After the CIO granted jurisdiction of the tobacco area to the United Cannery and Agricultural Workers, the name was changed to Food, Tobacco, Agricultural, and Allied Workers of America.

FTA-CIO Local 50 in Oakland was organized in the post-war period by the CIO, according to Mr. Paul Chown, well informed Secretary of the local. Mr. Chown said that the presence of Negro workers in the jurisdiction won by the CIO organizers was a war time phenomenon. During the war between 500 and 600 Negro workers found job opportunities in this economic jurisdiction, giving them between 38 and 46 percent of the work. Local 50 has been able to maintain the membership and the Negro share of jobs in the post-war period. The Negroes in May, 1948 still made up between 500 and 600 of the union's total membership of 1300.

The war time gain and the CIO's aid in preserving these gains three years after the war make this area of job openings for Negroes a fairly substantial part of East Bay employment for Negro workers.

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(1) Northrup, 102-118.

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION

Although most American longshoremen are identified with the AFL, the CIO claims the longshoremen and warehousemen on the West Coast. The story is therefore a local one.

Robert Coleman Francis, who worked as a longshoremen on the San Francisco waterfront, wrote his PhD Thesis on the story of labor on the waterfront. Mr. Francis reported the use of Negroes as strike breakers during the 1916 and 1919 longshore strikes. During the 1916 strike Mexican and Negro strike breakers were lodged on barges opposite piers 32 and 34 and armed by management to protect themselves from the strikers. Conciliation proceedings were successful with the longshoremen and they returned to work before some of the other waterfront groups had settled their grievances. The same Mexican and Negro strike breakers were lodged on the same barges with same fire-arms, however, and the men demanded that they be disarmed (one longshoremen had already been killed by a strike breaker). Management refused either to disarm or disband the strike breakers, so the men went back on strike.

During the 1919 longshore strike Mr. Francis tells of Negro ministers entering into agreements with management to provide strike breakers. The offers were accepted, but Negro workers were not retained after the strike. Negro longshoremen were also imported from the gulf ports to break the 1919 strike. These men were excellent workers and were retained for some years on the San Francisco docks. Only a small number remained in 1934 when Mr. Francis wrote his story.

Mr. Francis mentioned the Luckenback docks as the only docks where promises made to Negro strike breakers were kept. A Negro longshore boss, however, put in charge of the Negro gangs, turned out to be dishonest, trading away for selfish gain the chances for full employment of the Negroes under him. As a result of this man's failure to represent his people, only 50 Negroes remained on the waterfront in 1934. (1)

Taking up the story from there Northrup relates that only 23 Negroes were members of ILA before the 1934 strike. Again several hundred were brought in by management to break the strike. The strike, however, was instrumental in gaining for the San Francisco union the best conditions in the nation. Mr. Harry Bridges announced after the 1934 strike that "Negro labor would never again find the doors of the San Francisco longshore locals closed." Anti-discrimination committees were appointed, segregated gangs prohibited, and a decasualization plan adopted that provides fair job allotments to all, regardless of color. Northrup suggests that the ILA might do well to adopt the same decasualization scheme. (2)

One of the best interviews granted the writer during the period of field work in April and May of 1948 was the one with the Vice President of Local 6, ILWU, Mr. Paul Heidi. This union leader has done organizing in the South and knows first hand the violence and intimidation practiced against CIO organizers. Mr. Heidi did not make extravagant claims for

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(1) Robert Coleman Francis, *A History of Labor on the San Francisco Waterfront*, PhD Thesis, U.C., 152, 172, 182.

(2) Northrup, 152-153.

the ILWU or the CIO. In fact, much of what he said was in terms of criticism of the program with regard to minority workers, in that there was so much yet to be done.

In 1936, the year before the West Coast Longshoremen seceded from the ILA to form the ILWU, there were six Negroes in the jurisdiction of the potential new union. They were in menial positions, sweepers and janitors. After the CIO organized Local 6, which covers San Francisco, Oakland, and Richmond, Negroes were taken into the union and work was allotted to them on the basis explained by Northrup above.

In the East Bay Division of Local 6 there were 900 Negro members in a 4000 total. In the West Bay Division of Local 6 there were 1300 Negroes among 11,000 members. The totals in April, 1948, then, were 2200 Negroes in 15,000 members of Local 6.

Among the membership there is need for a constant campaign of education, Mr. Heidi believes. The Negro ILWU member must go beyond employer discrimination, beyond union discrimination to full acceptance and to leadership in the union. Negro members are on all committees now and on the General Board. About 25 per cent of the stewards and chief stewards, elected by the men, are Negroes. Mr. Horace Hazzard has recently received an appointment from the ILWU to work full time on the problem of white and Negro unity. Mr. Roscoe Proctor, Political Action Director, is a Negro. Mr. Heidi stressed the fact that these were appointive positions. He

feels the need for a Negro leader to be elected to one of the four top spots in the local. He believes that one of the four Caucasians in those positions at present should step aside to permit a Negro to run for the office.

During the war discrimination among the membership was subject to a fine of $25. One Southern member who violated the non-discrimination rule by expressing race hatred on the job had his "sentence" commuted to a five minute speech on the floor of the union hall on non-discrimination. It was too much for the Southerner to accept, however, and he quit his job.

Seniority rights have kept the percentage of unemployed longshoremen predominantly Negro. Last to be hired during the war influx, about 80 per cent of the average 100 unemployed are consistently Negroes. This means about 80 Negroes in a membership of 220, so most of the Negroes are consistently employed. During the "peak periods", all the members find employment.

The toughest problem in the discrimination area is the employer attitude. Clark's Chemical Company rejected a Negro member of ILWU who appeared with seven white men to make up a crew. All the men returned to the hall and the ILWU refused to send substitutes.

A paraffin company refused to accept Negroes and promoted anti-Negro sentiment among the Caucasian workers. The ILWU cleared the matter by an appeal to its union members and a careful selection of the first Negroes referred to this plant. The same company then set up a quota for Negro referrals.

The ILWU refused to recognize it and continued to make its regular referrals in any order than happened to occur. The company then hit upon the idea of using educational qualifications, and again the ILWU "nailed" the discriminatory technique. The company finally resorted to using its doctors to reject the Negro workers on grounds of physical incompetence. This ruse was overcome by sending the very same Negroes to another plant where the company doctors pronounced them fit for work an hour or so after the discriminatory company's doctors had pronounced them unfit for work.

Mr. Heidi expressed the fear that the Taft-Hartley law may return hiring to the employer and the pre-CIO employer discrimination.

Mr. Heidi admitted with regret that not all the rank and file white longshoremen were free from race prejudice. A recent battle in the West Bay Division to remove 500 Negro members, while it was unsuccessful, indicates the need for further education and integration. He pointed to three specific locals still practicing discrimination in spite of the ILWU's membership provisions which forbid it. The CIO Ship Clerks, Local 34, a semi-company union, retains a color bar. The Stockton Longshoremen and the Portland Longshoremen also practice discrimination. Mr. Kingman mentioned the Stockton local as one that had been difficult to open up to Japanese longshoremen, but indicated that the local had finally admitted them.

The preamble of the ILWU Constitution has this to say [illegible] conditions [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] with his [illegible] the land [illegible]

[illegible] land [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible] This [illegible] by [illegible]

moved to another plant where the quality (cotton) [illegible] was fit for use or how, or so after the discrimination [illegible] had [illegible]

Mr. Ward [illegible] that [illegible] in his [illegible] discrimination.

Mr. Ward admitted [illegible] that not all the land [illegible] were [illegible] in the [illegible] while [illegible] and [illegible] to [illegible]

[illegible]

The [illegible] of the [illegible]

on the matter of discrimination:

> "We recognize that changed economic conditions now demand an organization which unites all workers on an industrial basis, with rank and file control, regardless of craft, age, sex, nationality, race, creed, or political belief." (1)

The problem of insecurity among Negro workers has not been solved in ILWU, as the movement to eliminate the 500 Negro members in the San Francisco Division of Local 6 illustrates. Employer discrimination may be more successful in the event of a depression. The pitting of race against race may be attempted with more success in that event. Negro participation and leadership needs to be promoted, but has had a fairly encouraging beginning. The total picture for the Negro longshoreman's future, would seem to be showing marked progress over the earlier years of the century when Negroes were principally seen on the docks as strike breakers and when only 23 Negro members could be found in the ILA prior to the 1934 strike.

One of the most encouraging signs for the future welfare of the Negro member of ILWU Local 6 is the recognition by its leadership of the seriousness of the problems involved. This implies greater hope of progress than the attitudes of some unionists who pass the matter off rather lightly without the same practice of self analysis evident in the Vice President of Local 6.

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(1) ILWU-CIO, Welcome, pamphlet explaining union rules and practices to new members.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS

The CIO Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers was one of the nine CIO unions with a membership of more than 100,000 in 1946. MMS-CIO reported 125,000 members in good standing for that year. (1)

Although the union was organized before Myrdal, Northrup, and Weaver went to press, none of these authorities carry any mention of the CIO affiliate. They were well enough established financially, however, to make a $10,000 contribution to the CIO-PAC in 1943. (2)

In San Francisco Local 50 the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers-CIO have retained the ratio of Negro members, if not the actual number of Negro members, which obtained during the war boom period. Mr. Broadhead, Secretary of Local 50, told the writer that the Negroes made up 100 of the 500 in the local membership at the peak period of war time production. The post war drop in membership had brought the figure for the local's total down to 250 members in the month of May, 1948. Mr. Broadhead pointed out that the ratio of the Negro members had remained constant, however, for 50 of the 250 in the local were Negro members.

The economic opportunity represented by the jurisdiction of Local 50 is not large. The Negro members are not numerous from the quantative standpoint. But any non-discriminatory local makes up a portion of the answer, small in this case, to the Negro problem of post-war employment in San Francisco.

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(1) John Kieran, Information Please Almanac 1948, 385.
(2) Gaer, 177.

MACHINISTS' UNION

The CIO Machinists in the Bay Area, Locals 1304 and 168 in Oakland and San Francisco respectively, were once a part of the IAM-AFL. During the 1938 strike a split occurred over the issue of returning to work. Some of the men felt that the strike should achieve more than management was willing to concede. Others wanted to settle for management's offer and get back to work. The unresolved difference of opinion led to a secession movement on the part of the men who were unwilling to return to work. They severed their connection with the international parent organization, went on to win their strike, and established themselves as an independent unaffiliated union of machinists. Later the men voted to join the CIO. In May of 1948 both the Oakland and San Francisco locals had belonged to the CIO for about ten years.

The long tradition of the IAM's discriminatory policy toward Negroes had not been the issue over which the two groups split and the changing of the name and number of the local did not carry with it an automatic change in policy toward the Negro machinist. The NAACP has suggested some improvements in local policy in Oakland. A CIO leader in another union told the writer an improved educational program in Local 1304 would probably be helpful in achieving more complete integration of Negro machinists.

On the other hand, Katherine Archibald, as she describes the war time American trade unions' "valiant battle against extension of the field of Negro employment", singles out two

unions, the AFL Laborers' Union and the CIO Machinists' Union, as the only two who broke the almost solid front of the Bay Area shipbuilding unions with their closed shop exclusion of the Negro from the skilled trades. The CIO Machinists 1304 was the only union to accept Negroes without delay to full membership in a highly skilled craft. One AFL steamfitter was so incensed over this breach in the closed front of skilled shipyard labor that he accused the CIO of wrecking trade unionism with its "communist bastards and its nigger flunkies". (1)

The Alameda County NAACP President was of the opinion that affiliation with CIO on the part of the secessionist machinists in the 1938 strike had been a major factor in the relaxation of discrimination on the part of Machinists 1304. The NAACP Secretary informed the writer of the local's action in appointing an anti-discrimination committee to consider the problem of handling Negro members' grievances with equal consideration and the problem of lay-offs as they affected the Negro machinists. The committee had made one report on the floor of a union meeting at the time of the writer's field work in May, 1948. One of the problems facing the local has been the low seniority of the Negro machinists in 1304. In a relatively young local the whites who seceded from the IAM in 1938 have a sort of "charter member" seniority. The Negro member came in during the defense boom. One CIO leader claimed

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(1) Archibald, 80-81, 138-139.

that 1304 would have more Negro members were it not for the union principle of seniority. This seems to be, in the long run, a principle, however, that Negro and white alike believe to be indispensable to fair play in the unions.

The writer contacted Mr. John Morgan, Secretary of 1304, on the May, 1948 membership of the local and the proportion of Negro machinists included. Mr. Morgan reported that there were 2600 machinists in Local 1304, 200 of whom are Negroes. The local has been working on a program of complete fairness and integration and regrets that seniority has reduced the Negro membership. The anti-discrimination committee is at work on the problem of adjusting Negro grievances with care and prompt attention.

All testimony considered, the CIO Machinists Local 1304 has been a good thing for the Negro machinist in the East Bay. The membership ratio in this one local, 200 Negro machinists among 2600 in the union, compares very favorably with 190 Negro machinists in the five AFL locals with a total membership of 11,910.

The San Francisco Local 168 is a small local, formerly a part of AFL 68. Local 168 of the CIO Machinists does not have the color bar of IAM 68, but there is only one Negro machinist in the local. Unlike the clearance card status of the Negro in 68 the lone member of 168 enjoys full membership and any other machinist who makes application to 168 will be received on the same equalitarian basis, the writer was assured during an office interview with Local 168.

THE NATIONAL MARITIME UNION

Captain Hugh Mulzac, who commanded the Booker T. Washington, war time liberty ship, would probably have no hesitation in admitting that he would not have those four gold stripes on his coat cuff had it not been for the NMU. Members of the union fought Jim Crow, as their little pamphlet on the topic indicates. They were successful in forming several "checkerboard" crews. In 1944 the NMU had 55,000 members, of whom 5000 were Negroes. Malcolm Ross contrasts the racial policy of the NMU with that of the Seafarers. The SIU confined its Negro members (2000 in the Atlantic and Gulf coast locals) to stewards' jobs. The NMU accepted them in all three departments, deck, engineroom, and stewards'. There were a few instances where NMU locals practised discrimination, but in the main the union did a creditable job at educating the membership in the other direction. The NMU helped President Curran to answer the letter of President Roosevelt in action. The FDR letter, written a month after Pearl Harbor, read in part:

> "Questions of race, creed and color have no place in determining who are to man our ships. The sole qualification for a worker in the maritime industry, as well as in any other industry, should be his loyalty and his professional or technical ability or training." (1)

Weaver has already been mentioned as praising the NMU's "aggressive action...to secure ship command for qualified Negroes". The Harvard PhD believes that the NMU's fight for the Negro's right to work has given Negroes "a new concept of

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(1) Ross, 106-107.

the role of labor unions in the Negro's economic struggle". (1)

The NMU's fight to secure command of vessels for qualified Negro skippers resulted in the promotion of Negro Adrian Johnson to the command of the Frederick Douglass, a ship built in the very Baltimore dockyard where Mr. Douglass had worked as a slave and from which he escaped by disguising himself as a sailor. (2).

The attempt of management to pass the blame for discrimination along to the workers was not successful in the case of the NMU. The Grace Line refused three NMU Negro members on the explanation of the front office that the white crew would be unwilling to accept them. The NMU officials acted promptly, going on board ship at once, calling a meeting of the crew, and taking a vote on the matter. The company's front office was unanimously repudiated and the three Negro NMU members sailed with the crew.

The liner Kungsholm, converted into a troopship, called the NMU hiring hall for 140 seaman. 115 whites and 25 Negroes reported. The Negroes were not taken on with the rest of the crew. Again the NMU acted promptly, wiring the President of the United States to help them carry out his previous request to their union president. When the Kungsholm sailed, 25 Negro NMU members sailed with it. (3)

We have been telling the story of the NMU in the Bay

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(1) Weaver, 234.
(2) Edwin Embree, Brown Americans, 153.
(3) Ibid, 126-127.

Area, which has had a helpful part in the NMU fight against Jim Crow. In May, 1942 there were 100 Negro members out of 250 men.

NATIONAL UNION OF MARINE COOKS AND STEWARDS

The Coast Seaman's Journal for November 26, 1896 printed a letter addressed to "Marine Cooks and Stewards (White and Colored). These lines from the letter are significant to our study:

> "The crimps having been defeated by the Sailors' Union, find it an easy thing to prey upon the unorganized cooks and stewards. The Mongolian being more pliant than the white or colored man, is used by the crimps to further their objects. Thus the crimps and Mongolians work together as natural allies for the disbarment of the white and colored cooks and stewards of the Coast...without complete unity we shall fail. Failure means the abandonment of our hopes of a living for ourselves and our families. It also means that an alien race has defeated us in the struggle for existence." (1)

The union of white and Negro in a common bond against the Oriental is an interesting indication of the long established position of the Negro cook and steward on the San Francisco waterfront, even though there were only about 10,000 Negroes in the entire State of California at the time the letter was written, and a majority of those were in Los Angeles. Mr. Francis, whose Ph D Thesis furnished the above quotation from this letter, points our further that a Negro steward was instrumental in helping to break up the "crimping" business" (extortion of fees for obtaining jobs) by becoming the defendant in a court case. The Caucasian "crimper", a Mr. Bacon, was fined $100 by Judge Morrow. In default of payment he served a 30 day jail sentence. Mr. Francis commented on the service this rendered to the cause of labor on the San Francisco waterfront in the interests of the cooks and stewards.

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(1) Robert Coleman Francis (Thesis), 77-78.
(2) Ibid, 78-79.

Out of the competition for jobs between the Orientals, on the one hand, and the established whites and Negroes, on the other, emerged something of an equilibrium in job apportionment, which has carried down to 1948. CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards had 7000 members in the month of May of that year. 3500 members of MCS are Caucasian, 2500 are Negro, and 1000 Oriental. Obviously the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union has job protection over the heads of families which would represent no small proportion of the Bay Area Negro population.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible], though something of [illegible]

increase, [illegible]

and Germany [illegible]

years. 3000 [illegible] of each [illegible], 1000 [illegible]

and 1000 Oriental. [illegible]

[illegible]

would represent no small [illegible]

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA

Only the Auto Workers and the Steelworkers in the CIO organization topped the Textile Workers Union in 1946. One of the major organizing jobs done in the CIO has been in the textile field. 400,000 members were reported in 1946.

The textile industry has been the chief Southern industry excluding Negroes from important participation. When the classification of "hot and dirty work", traditionally assigned to Negroes in the South, was not available in the textile industry, the racial pattern of employment was carried out by putting the Negro workers on outside cleaning jobs and on other unskilled jobs in the industry. Even during the acute war time shortage in the textile industry, the USES in the South clung to the pattern of color caste in employment referrals. (1) The 25,000 Negroes in the textile industry in 1940 constituted 4 per cent of the work force. (2)

Paul Norgren points out in the Myrdal study that the CIO Textile Workers Union accepts Negroes on an equalitarian basis, protects the few jobs held at present by the Negro in the South, but is hardly likely to achieve upgrading of the Negro into textile factory production work. Even the working class ideology of the union organizing campaign in the South is not considered by Norgren to weigh heavily enough for the Textile Workers to make the major sacrifices that would be involved in helping the Negro achieve promotion. (3)

Northrup, too, predicts that it would be a practical

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(1) Weaver, 6, 131.
(2) Myrdal, 1110-1111.
(3) Ibid, 1111-1112.

impossibility for the CIO affiliate to upgrade Negroes, and would actually result only in the complete defeat of the union in the Southern textile mills. Less than 10 per cent of the union's 400,000 members are found in the South. The AFL textile affiliate claims 10,000 members in the South. (1) The combined totals would only mean 50,000 union members among 650,000 organizable textile workers in the South.

The Bay Area textile locals offer the Negro worker a better work opportunity. Miss Sonya Baltrun, Secretary of Local 71 in San Francisco, granted the writer an interview, which brought out that Local 71 had 15 Negro members among 700 in May, 1948. Local 158 in San Francisco had 25 Negro members in 200. Local 146 in Oakland had 75 Negroes among 300 members. Before the war there were no Negro members in any of the locals. In the beginning there was a little feeling against accepting the Negroes into the union, but the integration has been so successful on both sides of the Bay that there has been no indication of the feeling for the past two years. In fact, Miss Baltrun pointed out, in a recent election in Oakland Local 146 a Negro girl won an office over a Caucasian male member of the union.

115 Negroes in 1200 members is not only a higher ratio than the population ratio would give, but represents clear gain for the Negro over his pre-war status in the textile industry.

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(1) Northrup, 119-120.

[illegible] probably for the [illegible]

[illegible] in the Southern [illegible]

[illegible] 400,000 [illegible]

[illegible] 14,000 members in the [illegible] (1)

[illegible]

The [illegible]

better work opportunity. This Local, organized [illegible] in San Francisco, [illegible] Local [illegible], 16 [illegible] 1906. Local [illegible] members in [illegible]. Local 190 in Oakland [illegible] 300 members. Before the [illegible] there [illegible] no Negro members in any of the locals. In the beginning, there was a little feeling against accepting the Negroes [illegible] there has been no [illegible]. In fact, [illegible] recent election in [illegible]

The [illegible]

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(1) [illegible]

TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA

Weaver mentions in his study of local transportation the Negro who passed a civil service examination for a motorman's job on San Francisco's municipal traction system. He proved to be an "ice-breaker" for over 700 Negro men and women who were operating street cars and busses in the city four years later. He mentions also that the FEPC was about to act in Oakland in 1945. This was alluded to in the interview the writer enjoyed with FEPC's Mr. Harry Kingman. The latter regretted that FEPC ended before the directives could be issued in Oakland. The transportation systems in the two cities have already been discussed in the preceding chapter on the AFL. Weaver gave credit for the above instances of Negro opportunity in a field new to him to the civil service system, the traction management, and FEPC. (1)

During the four union fight for jurisdiction of local transportation in Philadelphia, the issue of Negro upgrading was raised. The company union had already taken a stand against it and remained adamant. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen limited its membership to white males in a constitutional provision. The AFL Amalgamated made no public statement on the issue. TWU-CIO took a public position in favor of equal economic opportunity for all. TWU won the election over the other competing unions. The FEPC asked the TWU to include in the collective bargaining agreement with management a clause outlawing discrimination. TWU felt

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(1) Weaver, 153-154.

that its public stand had put the union on record and did not ask for the clause in the contract. The CIO convention included just such a recommendation to the constituent unions in its national convention that year. When upgrading of Negroes was begun under the joint cooperative effort of management and TWU, a wildcat strike was called by the losing faction in the jurisdictional election. It was handled so shrewdly that transportation was tied up in Philadelphia for a week. TWU, a brand new union, stuck to its pledge, urged the men to return to work, and when they did not return, joined management and the public in advocating the seizure of the transportation system by the United States Army. The strike was broken after the seizure, TWU took over its union jurisdiction, and the training of Negro trainees, which has caused the wildcat strike, was resumed. In this story, the TWU was on the side of the Negro all the way, with the possible minor exception of the decision not to include the FEPC clause in the contract agreement. (1)

The San Francisco story was concerned chiefly with the civil service, management, FEPC, Bay Area Council Against Discrimination, and the AFL Carmen. The new TWU-CIO Local 250 did not have the same opportunity to take a stand in the Negro worker's favor during the early moments of tension and uncertainty, but after its formation, the policy of the national union became the policy of Local 250. Mr. Foley,

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(1) Weaver, 155-170.

Secretary of Local 250, talked with the writer, reporting 140 Negro members in the local's 1300 total.

As a Bay Area resident the writer has used the street cars in San Francisco a number of times before, during, and since World War II. It has been his frequent experience to be served by a man or woman on the conductor's platform who was Negro. An impression is gained that the Negro worker has successfully taken a place in this economic field, just as one gains a similar impression of the women who operate the Key System street cars in the East Bay. A TWU local in San Francisco, with the national record of the union and the anti-discrimination policies of the CIO at the national level, would seem to provide added security for the place already established by and for the Negro transport worker.

UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA

As Mr. C.L. Dellums, AFL President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in the Bay Area, told the writer in conversation, the UAW-CIO has an excellent national record in its treatment of the Negro. The Auto Workers have backed their anti-discrimination committee by providing a stable financial budget to work with and by placing the UAW President, Walter Reuther, in the chairmanship. Mr. Reuther's interest may be attested, in part, by his recent testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Public Welfare on the new FEPC bill, S.984. During the hearings in June-Huly, 1947 Mr. Reuther offered statistical evidence of discriminatory job orders listed with the USES. The orders carrying discriminatory specifications averaged 22 per cent of the total job listings in 1946. At the end of April, 1947, the percentage of semi-skilled and unskilled listings with discriminatory specifications had reached 70 per cent. (1)

During the war time conversion of auto factories for defense production, the opening up of many new type jobs also opened up the problem of up-grading for Negro workers whose qualifications and seniority rights entitled them to these promotions. Management and white labor hesitated to set a precedent of such up-grading, and Weaver notes that certain of the local CIO unions hesitated to deal effectively with the problem. (2)

Work stoppages by white workers became a threat to the

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(1) National Community Relations Advisory Council, FEPC Reference Manual, 1948 Edition, 7-8.

(2) Weaver, 32.

[illegible] Mr. [illegible]

Discussing the problem in the Bay Area, [illegible]

Consequently, [illegible]

of the management of the [illegible]. The [illegible]

their anti-discrimination [illegible]

Personnel managers [illegible]

Wilder [illegible] in the [illegible]

may be stressed, in part, by the recent testimony before the

Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Public Welfare on the [illegible]

[illegible] bill, S.984. [illegible]

Mr. Mautner offered statistical evidence of discriminatory

[illegible] listed [illegible]. The order, carrying discrim-

inatory specifications averaged [illegible] per cent of the total job

openings in 1946. By the end of April, 1947, the [illegible]

[illegible] semi-skilled and unskilled listings with discriminatory

specifications had reached 70 per cent. (1)

During the war the conversion of auto industries to

defense production, the opening up of many new types [illegible]

opened up the problem of up-grading for Negro workers [illegible]

qualifications and seniority rights [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of such up-grading [illegible]

of the local CIO [illegible]

the problem. (2)

Work stoppages by white [illegible]

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(1) National Community Relations Advisory [illegible]
Reference Manual, 1948 [illegible], 7-8.

(2) [illegible]

promotion of Negroes, their employment to work side by side with whites, and the defense production effort. When the Detroit Packard plant transferred two Negro metal polishers from civilian to defense production, 250 white polishers in the Packard local of UAW-CIO walked out. When the Hudson plant opened up defense training opportunities to Negroes work stoppages followed. Hudson Local 154 was up against the Southern sentiment of some of its white workers and the agitation of the Klan. Local 154 warned its members not to discriminate. On June 17, 1942, when Negroes were upgraded to production work in the Hudson plant, white workers did walk out. Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox ordered the men back to work. UAW President R.J. Thomas threatened to revoke the charter of Local 154 and reorganize the local if the men did not return to work. Most of them did. Those who did not lost their union cards and their jobs. The upgrading of the Negro worker went on. Similar stoppages at the Dodge plant found management and the UAW united on the enforcement of Executive Order 8802. Again recalcitrants lost union cards and jobs. Again the upgrading of Negroes continued.

The upgrading of Negro members of UAW-CIO was accomplished in Columbus, Ohio in the Curtiss-Wright plant through the union's efforts. A hard fight to organize the Wright Aeronautical Corporation of Cincinnati was followed by a similar struggle to enforce equality for the Negro members of Local 607 in the Aircraft Division of UAW. The UAW had management to fight in this case, but was successful.

As far as Weaver was able to determine before going to press in 1946 with Negro Labor, UAW locals never fronted for the discriminatory practices of management in the aircraft industry and never instituted any of their own, although the Lockheed-Vega local in California let government take the initiative against employer discrimination, offering no more than lip service to the UAW pronouncement on discrimination. In other instances the record was clear. (1)

Northrup points out that the spectacular incidents of work stoppage and dismissal of discriminatory white members of UAW-CIO must not obscure the steady progress made in the general field of war conversion. Even though upgrading and defense training of Negro workers has not been carried through without some minor incidents of discrimination, it has been carried through. Because of it the leaders of the UAW have made a substantial contribution to the economic welfare of their Negro members. (2)

The NAACP Executive Secretary in Oakland gave the writer a summary of the difficulty of securing employment for Negroes in the local Chevrolet Plant. Company policy is discriminatory. The NAACP sent out ten Negroes with experience in the Detroit plants. The men were not employed. Affidavits were then sent to Local 76 of the UAW. No action followed. The NAACP wired the Chevrolet Company. No action resulted. Then the union referred the problem to the Regional UAW. Mr. Lerman came up as for leaving the [illegible]

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(1) Weaver, 128-129.
(2) Northrup, 202.

goes in line with [illegible]

the discriminatory practices of management in the automo[illegible]

industry and never [illegible] any of their own [illegible]

independent [illegible] in California and movement [illegible]

initiative [illegible] while no [illegible]

than lip service to the [illegible] pronouncement on [illegible]

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Northrup points out that the [illegible] incidents of

work stoppage and [illegible] While the [illegible]

of UAW-CIO must not obscure the [illegible] made in the

general field of war conversion. Even though [illegible]

the upgrading of Negro women has not been carried thro[illegible]

without some minor incidents of discrimination, it has been

carried through, [illegible] because of the [illegible] of the UAW [illegible]

made a substantial contribution to the economic welfare of

[illegible]

The UAW-CIO Executive Board recently [illegible]

a summary of the difficulty of [illegible]

in [illegible] Local Chevrolet Plant, Chicago, [illegible]

The UAW-CIO sent out [illegible] to the [illegible]

plants. The men were [illegible]

to Local 73 of the [illegible]

the Chevrolet Company [illegible]

relieved the [illegible]

[illegible]

from Los Angeles to present the matter to Local 76. The stewards in the local voted to use the influence of Local 76 to secure employment opportunities for Negro auto workers. As late as April, 1948 the NAACP reported there was still no hiring of Negroes in the Chevrolet Plant.

An official spokesman for the CIO, outside the UAW, explained the same problem to the writer prior to the NAACP interview. He stated that it was a policy of General Motors not to hire Negro auto workers. UAW 76, however, appointed an anti-discrimination committee and made plans for a campaign to urge the hiring of Negroes in the Chevrolet plant. At this point there was an untimely lay-off of 500 men. Adhering to the principle of seniority it would be necessary to rehire all the white members before the campaign to promote the employment of Negroes could again be inaugurated. This has stopped action in UAW 76. The seniority principle has been helpful in assuring job security to other Negroes in Local 76, however. During the first few months of 1948 when 900 of the 3300 members of the local were laid off, the seniority principle was strictly observed. As a result, though there were 58 Negroes in the local, only 3 were laid off, the other 55 remaining on the job by virtue of their seniority rights.

There are only two local shops that do not discriminate against Negroes, according to an interview with Mr. Manuel Dias, Financial Secretary of 76. 50 Negroes are employed in one of these shops and 5 in the other. Two of these Negroes are on the shop committee of Local 76.

[illegible] to prevent the action [illegible]

[illegible] in two local votes on the [illegible] of [illegible]

to secure [illegible] opportunity [illegible]

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number of degrees in the [illegible].

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out to [illegible]. [illegible], however, [illegible]

n anti-discrimination committee and [illegible] plan, [illegible]

to urge the [illegible] of [illegible]

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employment of Negroes could [illegible]. This [illegible]

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remaining on the job [illegible] their [illegible]

[illegible] do not [illegible]

[illegible] Negroes [illegible]

[illegible], Personnel [illegible]. (2) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The report on Local 560 in Berkeley was given to the writer by Financial Secretary Jack Amiot. Local 560 has 1400 members. 125 are Negro men and 10 are Negro women. The same problem of employer discrimination faces 560. The same strict adherence to seniority is observed in lay-off and rehiring. The local does not discriminate on the old "last-hired, first-fired" basis.

The proportion of UAW Negro members to UAW white members in Local 560 is fairly close to the population ratio of Negro to non-Negro. The proportion in Local 76 is appreciably lower than the population ratio. The refusal of Chevrolet to employ Negro workers remains a problem for the CIO and the NAACP.

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO, AND MACHINE
WORKERS OF AMERICA

The UERMW-CIO approached the work stoppage problem resulting from race prejudice in a novel way in 1943. Baltimore's Western Electric plant had been agitated over the provision of common toilet facilities for white and colored workers. The educational campaign of the UERMW centered in the use of a comic strip which was run in the official union paper, The Western Electric News. The strip was entitled, "There Are No Master Races!"

In the Indianapolis plant of the Mallory Company the UERMW and the firm worked together on the successful inclusion of 125 Negroes in all classifications in March of 1943. The ease with which the harmony was accomplished in the plant led to hiring in 1945 of several hundred additional Negro women workers.

Local 1225 in New York City established its own FEPC. Qualified workers of African ancestry or of other minority groups were referred out to the various shops. When such individuals encountered discrimination on the part of management, the business agent investigated and reported back to the committee. The committee sent out a qualified worker again. If management continued to discriminate, the case was then referred to the President's FEPC. The effect in New York was marked by an increase in employment from 172 Negroes in 41 companies studied in May, 1942, to over 1000 colored workers in January, 1943.

Local 107, UERMW, however, did not fall into the quite

the same category. Resentment of white union members against the hiring of a Negro machine shop learner caused his prompt dismissal. Local 107 did not face the issue. The national office, however, did. In six months the Philadelphia district had prepared a program for encouraging the employment and upgrading of Negro workers.

Work stoppage at the Hoover Company plant in Canton, Ohio on the acceptance of the Negro issue was promptly handled by the national office of UERMW in 1943.

Local 1412 in Oakland has had no work stoppage threats and no resentment of white union members against the hiring and upgrading of Negro union members. The present membership (May, 1948) lists 150 Negroes among its 1500 members. Miss Sandra Martin reported successful integration in an interview with the writer.

UNITED FURNITURE WORKERS OF AMERICA

Du Bois' interesting 1912 study of the Negro-American artisan includes mention of the black artisan as "chairmaker", "cabinet maker", and "the maker of most things made of wood". (1)

The Negro's place as a furniture worker in the pre-industrialized South is mentioned by Weaver as one of the few places in which he was established. (2)

The United Furniture Workers-CIO came into the National Labor Relations Board's decision upon separate bargaining units for white and colored. The NLRB refused to establish a separate bargaining unit for skilled whites in an industrial unit where they were outnumbered by skilled Negroes. The decision was made in the spirit of Executive Order 9346, which had replaced 8802. In rendering the decision the UFW was introduced in the explanation prepared by the Board with the notation that the United Furniture Workers, CIO, to which Negroes belonged, admitted whites without discrimination. Hence there was "no occasion for passing upon the question whether a union which denies membership to employees on the basis of race may nevertheless represent a unit composed in part of members of the excluded race." (3)

UFW-CIO Local 262 in San Francisco reported to the writer that its 175 Negro members in the 1200 enrollment was due not only to the fact that UFW does not draw the color line, but more important, in the case where employer control of hiring is the rule, to the fact that the Simmons Company does not

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(1) Du Bois, 28, 35.
(2) Weaver, 8.
(3) Northrup, 246.

discriminate. All of UFW Local 262's Negro members work for the Simmons Company. The members of 262 in all the other company units are all white.

The Negro furniture worker's future employment opportunity in San Francisco might seem to depend upon whether or not more employers can be persuaded to follow the policy of the Simmons Company.

UNITED OFFICE AND PROFESSIONAL WORKERS OF AMERICA

The United Office and Professional Workers of America-CIO had organized a national union of 52,000 members by 1946. The UOPW accepts "any employee working within the union's jurisdiction without regard to race, color, or religious or political beliefs". Negro members would tend to be limited not by the union, but by the phrase, "within the union's jurisdiction". Except for the "black belts" and districts predominantly Negro, in which an economy within the larger economy usually develops, the office and professional workers organizable by a new union would seldom include Negroes. The Negro white collar worker has depended largely upon his own segregated community for economic opportunity, or perhaps his segregated community has demanded its quota of white collar workers, along with its quota of teachers, ministers, morticians, barbers, and beauticians, and his economic response has been to prepare for one of the white collar jobs. There have not been a great many of these jobs available, even in the segregated community. In the 1930 Census the officials, managers, accountants, agents, clerks, salesmen, saleswomen, bookkeepers, clerical workers, and other white collar positions in banking, brokerage, insurance, real estate, wholesale and retail trade, hotels, restaurants, and cleaning and dyeing shops, totalled about 40,000 Negro workers for the entire nation. More than half of these were in wholesale and retail trade. The latter would be in the jurisdiction of the larger CIO body, the Retail Wholesale, and Department Store Union, which had organized 125,000 workers in 1946.

The source of Negro members for UOPW-CIO, then has been from those members of the segregated community who have been organized and from those few white offices which do not draw the color line.

UOPW Local 225 in Oakland, with the above background taken into consideration, had a fairly high proportion of Negro members in its union. Mr. Young, Secretary of Local 225 reported 1000 members in May, 1948, 150 of whom were Negroes. Newsvendors-CIO, a UOPW affiliate, had only one Negro member in its total of 85. UOPW Local 34 in San Franciso reported 30 Negroes in 600 members, explaining that a jurisdiction among white collar workers offers very little opportunity to include Negroes without a closed shop agreement. Employers control the hiring and almost none of them employ Negroes. The labor union offices, the YMCA and YWCA, and a few progressive groups or non-discriminatory employers are the exceptions to this rule, accounting for 30 Negro members of Local 34.

The immediate prospect of a wider opportunity for the Negro white collar worker is not apparent.

UNITED PUBLIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

The United Public Workers of America-CIO specify in the UPW Constitution that "membership shall not be denied because of sex, race, color, religion, or political belief". The Union's emblem or seal portrays the muscular forearm of a white skinned worker with his fingers intertwined in a handshake with the equally muscular arm and hand of a black skinned worker. Formerly known as the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America-CIO, the 1946 membership of this organization included between 18,000 and 20,000 Negro members. Vice President Philip Weightman and International Representative Le Roy Johnson are two Negro members of the UPW who have been elected to office on the national level.

Seven locals of UPW in the Metropolitan Oakland area make up the East Bay Joint Board of the UPW-CIO. Mr. Irv Zeiger, Secretary of the Joint Board, told the writer that in the combined membership of 1300 for the seven locals the Negro workers accounted for 250 of the total.

The San Francisco locals have a negligible Negro membership. Mr. John Jeffrey, Secretary of Local 223, told the writer there were two Negroes among the local's 25 members. Local 652, State Employees, has no Negroes among 40 members. Local 136 in the Post Office has 10 Negroes in a membership of 200. Local 503, largest San Francisco local, has 800 members, 25 Negro. This gives the Negro public worker a 3.5 per cent proportion of the jobs in these four locals. Mr. Jeffrey told the writer that the UPW welcomes Negro workers, but had not had many come into its employment juris-

diction. The ratio of Negro members of UPW to white members would not be expected to come up to the 38 per cent proportion in the national union. The Negro population in the single city of Chicago has been greater than the Negro population in the entire State of California for many years. On the other hand, the percentages of Negroes in some of the other unions might suggest that a larger participation in UPW could be expected in San Francisco.

UNITED [illegible] WORKERS OF AMERICA

Weaver includes the United Rubber Workers among those CIO unions which have helped to raise the number of organized Negro workers to the 1946 high of one million. He includes the union also among those which have provided opportunities for more and more Negro unionists to engage in active participation in the affairs of the union. (1)

Field work in the Bay Area led the writer to contact Mr. S.M. Pratt, Business Agent for Local 64. When the writer inquired about the number of Negro members affiliated with Local 64, Mr. Pratt recited the list of 12 men, each of whom he knew by name. Local 64 has 120 members giving the Negro 10 per cent. In 1944 there was some difficulty about the upgrading of the Negro workers who had previously been in the "mixing" department, doing the "dirty work". The labor vacuum and production demand, however, gave the Negro his chance to show what he could do. He did it so successfully that he now has the respect of his fellow white members in 64. Negro "floaters" complicated things a bit during the war when the union needed men who were steady and reliable, but the few who came near 64 drifted on to the next place and the dependable Negro workers were not handicapped. Mr. Pratt rated the Negro worker "every bit as good as the white and sometimes a good deal better". His record of absenteeism was low, which was especially valuable to the production record during the war.

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(1) Weaver, 233-234.

Local 78 has only one Negro member, the janitor. The employer's refusal to hire Negroes might have been due, Mr. Pratt suggested, to the belief that whites would not accept the Negro as a fellow worker. Mr. Pratt believes that Local 78 would practice the CIO policy of no discrimination if given the opportunity through a change in employer hiring practices. Local 78 has a membership of 90.

The Rubber locals in the Bay Area are hardly large enough to constitute a job opportunity for the Negro worker, but again there is psychological value in each instance of successful integration.

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA

The President of the USA and the CIO, Mr. Philip Murray, stated during the Sixth Constitutional Convention of the CIO:

> "I am reminded that basically and fundamentally the precepts of all religion and God Almighty are predicated upon the assumption that there shall be an equality of treatment--and it means just that equality of treatment to all of the people. And the labor union that cannot meet those requirements is not a good labor union; and the member of the labor organization that cannot practice those precepts is not a good member." (1)

At another time, and speaking more specifically of his own USA, President Murray said:

> "If the steelworkers' union is going to discriminate against Negro workers or anybody else, I don't want to be president of the union... Every member and every officer of this union must fight to drive discrimination against Negro workers out of the steel industry." (2)

Thousand of Negro steelmen had broken strike against the white steelmen in 1919. In 1940 those who had remained in the employ of Bethlehem Steel in Lackawanna were members of USA-CIO. In 1942 there were 150 shop stewards and about 20 grievance adjustors in the Lackawanna local who were Negro steelmen. About 20 per cent of the labor force were Negroes, setting a pattern for the industries in the Buffalo area to show that whites and blacks can work together.

When work stoppage threatened at the upgrading of Negro workers in the Timken plan, Canton, Ohio, the USA on the national level backed the pronouncement of its president and the Negroes received their promotions.

Two Chicago locals, 65 and 1181, on the other hand,

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(1) Gaer, 391.
(2) Ibid, 450.

though admitting Negroes to membership, prevented them from holding office strictly on the basis of color. A Birmingham local was so lax in handling the upgrading problem for the Negro membership that the AFL rival won the workers over in two NLRB elections and carried out is election promise to the Negroes by proceeding with upgrading without regard to color.

The matter of Negro strike breaking was not forgotten in the steel towns of Ohio and Pennsylvania. It was remembered by management, the Negro, and the white unionist. During the strike against Bethlehem in Cambria, Pa., out of 400 Negroes in the plant only 6 joined the white CIO steelmen in the 1937 struggle. In Yougstown, Ohio only 2 per cent of the Negroes went out. In Warren, Ohio only 10 Negroes joined the 2000 whites on strike. Beatings, bombings, clashes on the picket line, jeering, calling the Negroes "scabs" and "black bastards", denouncing strike breaker wages and the new "scab-cars" threatened the unity of the USA-CIO locals in these plants. The CIO did two effective things in this struggle. Negro organizers were used to unionize the Negro strike breakers with some success. Also when Negro strike breakers were sent from the plants by management to clash with the white pickets, the CIO leaders turned the problem over to Negro union members of the USA local. The strikers gave the strike breakers so decisive a beating that management stopped using this divisive technique. (1)

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(1) Cayton and Mitchell, 207-217.

The wage differential in steel has made upgrading a more difficult problem for the USA-CIO than it has been for other unions. Some skilled steelmen receive $25 per day while common laborers in the same plant and in the same union are only receiving $4 per day. Upgrading with so expensive a price tag on it is a genuine test of racial fairness. The separation of working forces is another problem of steelmentwho desire to unify the white and black worker. Working side by side in the mines helped the UMW to promote racial solidarity. Steel mills with all-white sections have made the very same problem difficult for the USA.

The leadership must be credited the more, then, with its success in placing Negro steelmen among white steelmen in formerly all-white sections of the mill, and in promoting qualified Negro steelmen to the jobs their ability and seniority have earned for them. (1)

During the writer's field work in the Bay Area a visit to one of the local union meetings of USA afforded an opportunity to hear one of the members report on a State Convention. "Brother" White, a Negro steelman, gave a report that was a credit to the delegate himself and to the dominantly Caucasian local which had elected him to serve them in this capacity.

San Francisco's Local 1069 not only has had no trouble with the integration of the 150 Negroes among its 1250 membership, but has elected a Negro steelman to the Vice Presidency

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(1) Northrup, 182.

of the local.

Local 1441 in Oakland is a smaller local with only 225 members, but 35 of them are Negroes and they meet in the union hall and work in the plant with equality and seniority rights.

Micky Ferrera, Business Agent of Oakland's Local 1798 reported that there was no discrimination in his local. Of the present membership in 1798 there are 200 Negroes in a 1200 total. Unfortunately, the principle of seniority has worked a hardship on the Negroes in the local, for out of 100 men recently laid off, 75 of the lowest 100 on the seniority rating list were Negroes. Of the 15 shops in Local 1798's jurisdiction only 2 have given the local any trouble in the matter of discrimination, but Local 1798, according to Mr. Ferrara, has been working the problem out in favor of the Negro steel worker.

The writer has met and discussed problems of Negro job opportunities with more rank and file members of the USA than with the membership of any other union. The national and local program of worker education in this regard seems to have permeated the environment of the USA in the Bay Area. Even the men with Southern accents have spoken with pride of the non-discriminatory policies of their unions.

The future of the Negro in steel in the San Francisco Bay Area does not seem to the writer to be in serious jeopardy.

Local [illegible] in Akron [illegible]
members, [illegible] of them [illegible] Negroes [illegible] they meet in the [illegible]
hall and [illegible] the other with equality and harmony, [illegible]

Many Negroes, [illegible] union again [illegible] Local [illegible]
admitted [illegible] to membership in [illegible]
the present [illegible] in [illegible] than [illegible] Negroes in a
1500 total. [illegible], the [illegible]
[illegible] a leadership on the Negroes in the 1930s [illegible]
[illegible] recently had [illegible] 75 of the [illegible]
[illegible] ruling list were Negroes. Of the [illegible]
jurisdiction only 2 have given the [illegible] any [illegible]
matter of discrimination, [illegible] Local [illegible], according to [illegible]
[illegible], has been [illegible] the [illegible] in [illegible]
[illegible] steel worker.

The writer has met and discussed problems of Negro [illegible]
communities with many [illegible] and [illegible] members of the [illegible]
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local program of worker education [illegible]
[illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible]
[illegible] the [illegible] who [illegible]
[illegible] position [illegible]

The future of the Negro in [illegible]
[illegible]

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA

Du Bois' nation wide study of the Negro worker in the first decade of this century elicited the following response from the "Gas and Water Workers" in Oakland, California:

> "Our business comprises the manufacture and distribution of gas, and in the event of a Negro being employed, he would be welcomed to membership in our local." (1)

The Utility Workers Organizing Committee is mentioned by Northrup in connection with its attempt to organize the railraod shop craft unions and the affiliation of the Negro secessionist group which left the AFL Clerks Union. This latter group, the National Council of Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees affiliated with the CIO Utility Workers Organizing Committee in August, 1942. With the AFL Clerks retaining status as their legal bargaining agent, Northrup found difficulty in predicting the gain that might ensue from the CIO affiliation. (2)

Huberman reported 35,000 workers organized by the Utility Workers Organizing Committee in 1946, the year the Utility Workers Union was established. An independent, the United Utilities Union of America, reported 110,000 members in the same year. (3)

The Utility Workers are credited by Northrup with admitting Negroes without discrimination, which is the policy here in the San Francisco Bay Area, according to the Oakland and San Francisco officials contacted during the writer's field work in the two cities.

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(1) Du Bois, 87.
(2) Northrup, 85.
(3) Leo Huberman, The Truth About Unions, 84.

Mr. Lee Seymour of Local 34 in Oakland reported that employer hiring had given the local little opportunity to accept Negro workers' applications, but that Negro utility workers were welcome in Local 34. Among 1500 utility workers in the local only nine were Negroes in May, 1948.

The Negro utility worker in San Francisco has had a larger representation in his union. International Representative Angela Ward told the writer that Local 134's 1450 membership included 200 Negroes on its rolls.

Expanded opportunity for the Negro utility worker in the East Bay would seem to be a justifiable goal for the UW-CIO, the NAACP, and management.

TWO CIO RAILROAD UNIONS

Willard S. Townsend, President, United Transport Service Employees-CIO, a former railroad redcap, is the only Negro member of the CIO Executive Board. His union has won for the redcaps a fixed salary of $6 a day. When the railroads tried to include the redcaps' tips on the salary paid, Mr. Townsend took the issue to court. The railroads won, but only on the compromise basis that 10 cents of each tip count as a service charge. Mr. Townsend had the distinction of being selected by Fortune Magazine as one of ten colorful union leaders who have represented their men ably and intelligently. The article appeared in November, 1946 when Fortune turned the entire issue over to "Labor in U.S. Industry". (1)

UTSEA-CIO reported 95,000 members in 1946. About 2850 members of the union were Orientals, another 16,150 were Caucasians, and the remaining 76,000 were Negroes.

The two Bay Area locals of UTSEA are both all Negro locals. Mr. King, Secretary of the East Bay local, told the writer that Local 904 had 76 members in May, 1948, and that Local 905 in San Francisco had 40 members.

The two small locals represent a small Negro monopoly in the Bay Area among transport service employees.

The other CIO railroad untion in the Bay Area is the United Railroad Workers of America-CIO. During the writer's interview in the office of Mr. C.L. Dellums, President of local union of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Mr.

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(1) Fortune, November, 1946, 150.

Dellums mentioned that after the Railway and Steamship Clerks in the AFL removed the color bar during the 1946 convention and instituted local option, a competitive drive ensued in the East Bay to organize the Negro workers. The CIO was attempting the "one big union" organization, which, President Dellums pointed out, spurred on the AFL organizers and reduced the opposition of the AFL group to the full acceptance on Negro workers into an unsegregated local.

By 1948 the URWA-CIO had become a reality in Oakland's Local 1577. An interview with Mr. Ole Fagerhaugh brought out that about 80 of the 200 members organized would probably be Negroes. Another interview with Mr. Hoppe, Secretary of Local 1577, indicated that more complete organization should give the union a much higher membership list and many more Negroes in the local. Mr. Hoppe estimated that 300 Negro workers had already been signed up by Local 1577 in the process of organizational proceedings.

The members of Local 1577 do not represent new job opportunities for Negroes, of course, but the organization of Negroes in the jurisdiction into a union which has not advocated or practiced exclusion, segregation, or even "local option". Such a union may in the future be helpful in providing better integration of Negro workers in the railroad industry, which has always been the most exclusionist white industry in the history of American labor.

CIO UNIONS WITH NEGLIGIBLE NEGRO MEMBERSHIP

Amalgamated Clothing Workers-CIO Local 42 has jurisdiction over workers in a highly skilled trade. Although the ACW-CIO does not discriminate, it has not had opportunity to prove it very often as Negroes have not been trained in the skills that are necessary to enter the trade. Mrs. Brilliant, Secretary of Local 42, told the writer that there were only six Negro members in a total count of 1050. They are regular members of the union.

Lithographer-CIO Local 17 has jurisdiction in a trade where management has never hired Negro lithographers. The office of Local 17 reported one non-discriminatory employer who made it possible for the Lithographers to include three Negroes in its membership of 1200.

Marine Engineers-CIO Local 97 is another untion having jurisdiction in an area where there are no organizable Negro marine engineers. MEBA has no color bar, but no Negro has yet appeared with a United States License, so Local 97 has no Negroes, according to Mr. Buttram, Secretary of 97.

International Union of Fishermen and Allied workers of America-CIO Local 34 covers another trade which has not been entered by the Negro worker. The office reported with regret that although the few Negroes who had made inquiries had been encouraged, only one had ever signed an application for membership, the only Negro member among 500 fishermen in Local 34.

American Newspaper Guild-CIO has a jurisdiction in which management rarely hires Negroes. Mr. Brown, Business Agent of ANG-CIO, which covers Oakland and San Francisco, explained

that People's World and Labor Herald accounted for six of the sixteen Negro members of the Guild, all the other papers in the Bay Area having about ten Negroes in their employ under ANG's jurisdiction. The 16 Negro members are regular members of a local with 1650 in the organization.

International Fur and Leather Workers-CIO Local 79 has a slack season for the month of May, the writer's last chance for field work, so Mrs. Louise Bantz, Secretary, was able to report only three Negro members in a 220 total. When the season picks up the general membership and the Negro membership should also pick up, according to Mrs. Bantz.

American Communications Association-CIO is in another field traditionally closed by management to Negroes. Local 9 in San Francisco, according to Secretary Rust, does have four Negro members out of 500 in the union. Marine Local 3, Secretary Asplund interviewed, reported that there has been no color bar. In fact, both Chinese and Japanese members have been placed without difficulty, but no Negroes have come into the local which includes 680 members. An Oakland local, in process of formation, according to National Delegate Manny Silva has signed up 340 members. 65 of them are women. Before the war there were no Negroes in the jurisdiction. During the war 14 Negro women were hired, of whom 10 remain (May, 1948). These 10 Negro women will be regular members of the new ACA-CIO which expects to be chartered in June.

The Association of Communication Equipment Workers, according to Office Secretary Miss Gerry Velasco, is about

ready to complete the necessary arrangements for affiliation with the CIO, but will have no Negro members in the initial membership list. Western Electric has hired no Negro workers. This constitutes the jurisdiction for the new local.

United Brotherhood of Telephone Workers-CIO is also in an industry which company discrimination has closed to the Negro worker. Neither the Oakland nor the San Francisco local reported any Negro members.

Whether the CIO's influence will be able to improve the Negro-American's economic status in any of the groups discussed in this section of the chapter seems rather questionable. Each of the writer's interviews gave him the impression of a sincere desire to have Negro members in the particular union under discussion. The fact that there is no color bar in any of them is not entirely without value to the Negro worker. The Negro will need to look elsewhere for immediate employment opportunities, but cooperation between the CIO, the NAACP, and the Urban League may be able to open up these relatively closed fields.

FACTUAL SUMMARY OF 42 CIO LOCALS CONTACTED

A total of 26 major unions with 42 locals were contacted in the field work done on the CIO. 17 of the locals held jurisdiction in San Francisco, 19 in the East Bay, 6 on both sides of the Bay. The total membership of the locals by geographical division is listed below, the Negro membership in the same geographical divisions listed in the adjoining column.

Jurisdiction	Members	Negro Members
San Francisco locals	14,935	991
East Bay locals	15,220	1703
Twin-jurisdiction locals	22,850	4825
	53,005	7519

In fairness to the CIO on the San Francisco side of the Bay it should be pointed out that two of the twin-jurisdiction locals, both with headquarters in San Francisco, furnished between them 62 per cent of all the Negro members reported in the 42 locals. The West Bay Division of Local 6 ILWU reported 1300 Negro members, with the East Bay Division of the same local reporting 900 Negro members. The Marine Cooks and Stewards, with 2500 Negro CIO union members, made up almost exactly one-third of the Negro members in the entire San Francisco Bay Area. Leaving the Marine Cooks and the ILWU out of account, the other 40 Bay Area CIO locals have

2819 Negro members.

Five CIO locals had no Negro members. Ship Clerks 34, an ILWU affiliate, UPW Local 612 in San Francisco, Marine Engineers 97, and the two locals of the United Telephone Workers. Machinists 168 in San Francisco had only one Negro member, as did the San Francisco Fishermen, the Oakland Newsvendors, and the Oakland Rubber Workers Local 78. UPW Local 225 in San Francisco reported two Negro workers, and the Lithographers and the Fur Workers 3 Negroes each. The Communications local in San Francisco had 4 Negro members, the Clothing Workers Local 42, with jurisdiction on both sides of the Bay, had 6, and Utility Workers Local 64 in Oakland reported 9. The table below lists the number of locals in each numerical range, according to the Negro members reported.

Locals reporting 0	5
Locals reporting 1-10	10
Locals reporting 11-25	6
Locals reporting 26-50	5
Locals reporting 51-100	3
Locals reporting 101-200	9
Locals reporting 201-500	1
Locals reporting 501-1000	1
Locals reporting 1001-2000	0
Locals reporting over 2000	2
	42

Negro membership and total membership for the 24 CIO Unions appears in the following table. (1)

	Total	Negroes
Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers	1300	550
Longshoremen and Warehousemen	15000	2200
Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers	250	50
Machinists	2600	200
National Maritime Union	250	100
Marine Cooks and Stewards	7000	2500
Textile Workers	1200	115
Transport Workers	1300	140
Auto Workers	3800	190
Electrical Workers	1500	150
Furniture Workers	1200	175
Office and Professional Workers	1685	180
Public Workers	2365	287
Rubber Workers	210	13
Railroad Workers	200	80
Steelworkers	2675	385
Utility Workers	2950	209
Communications Workers	1100	4
Lithographers	1200	3
Marine Engineers	3000	0
Fishermen	500	1
Newspaper Guild	1650	16
Clothing Workers	1050	6
Fur and Leather Workers	220	3

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(1) Two telephone locals reported no Negroes, but did not report membership figures for the locals

The 7519 Negro CIO unionists make up 14.1 per cent of the total membership of the 42 locals in the 24 unions reporting their membership.

For the combined total of 205 locals in both the AFL and CIO the membership count is 248,956. The Negro membership of 26,472 for the 205 Bay Area locals gives the black worker a ratio of 10.6 per cent of the total union enrollment of the organizations contacted in this study.

The percentage of Negro workers in AFL unions studied, 9.6 per cent, is significantly lower than the percentage of Negro workers in the CIO unions studied, 14.1 per cent. Contributing causes to this difference have been suggested earlier in the study, the craft union job protectionist philosophy being one probable contributing factor, and the lack of any coordinated policy of anti-discrimination education in the AFL being another. How much influence these factors exert would be almost impossible for one student to assess. The lack of education and training in useful work skills has been a handicap to the Negro moving North and West out of the deep South, and has made it difficult even for friendly white unionists to help him to a place in a craft union. Employer discrimination has been a factor in keeping the Negro out of some unions, but whether the employer has been discriminatory in the degree claimed by the various representatives of labor interviewed during the study may be questioned. Random samplings of employer opinion

have convinced the writer that a comprehensive study in this area might seem worthy of the future attention of some other student interested in this field.

The war time production effort in the Bay Area had an effect upon Negro membership in CIO unions somewhat similar to that alluded to among the AFL unions. Negroes have made distinct numerical gains in the CIO because of opportunities obtained during the war time labor vacuum.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

During the writer's field work union officials frequently placed responsibility for discrimination against the Negro worker upon the employer. An independent study in this area has already been suggested in the summary of the CIO chapter. The interview with former FEPC administrator Harry Kingman, who supervised the Bay Area during the war for this agency, elicited an estimate that approximately 10 per cent of the Bay Area FEPC cases during the war involved labor unions. Winifred Raushenbush cites the exact figure of 5.6 per cent for cases involving labor unions on the national front in 1944. Her figures taken from FEPC involve private employers in 70 per cent of the 1944 cases. (1) These figures suggest that there may be some support outside the labor unions for their charge that the employer discriminates in hiring. In cases where the closed shop is included in the master agreement between labor and management, the responsibility lies with labor. When management controls the hiring, and joining the union follows hiring, then management is responsible up to the point when application is made to join the union. At that point responsibility passes to the labor union.

There have been examples in our study of employer discrimination and union discrimination. There have been examples of cooperation between management and labor in the Negro's favor. There have examples of upgrading initiated by management and examples of upgrading requested by the

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(1) Winifred Raushenbush, Jobs Without Creed or Color, 15,17

unions. There were examples of discrimination by the tacit consent of both management and labor. Until an independent study in the San Francisco Bay Area has been conducted, the writer can only report that it is the frequent and definite attitude of many labor officials that management discriminates. The FEPC figures would not tend to contradict this attitude on the part of labor, and the writer has no evidence with which to refute these claims. It seems fair to withhold judgment concerning the Bay Area employer in lieu of more specific material being secured in directed field work.

Another frequently offered comment by union leaders who favored Negro integration and others who did not was the comment about the serious lack of education, experience in skilled craftsmanship, and apprentice training suffered as a handicap by the migrant Negro during the war. This was borne out by Negro-American leaders interviewed by the writer. This observation, made by the painters, carpenters, shipfitters, and boilermakers, to name four major groups, seems to come out of the study uncontradicted.

A third comment made several times by union officers, whose unions had faced the problem of war time integration, was the comment that the chief difficulty was in the initial acceptance of the Negro worker. Like the employers who tried the Negro worker and continued to use him, unions who tried him also kept him and found suspicion and antagonism reduced while friendliness and respect increased.

Since the field work on the AFL was finished before much work was done on the CIO, it was possible to form some general impressions of the two unions.

There was a more common tendency on the part of officers in the AFL to make the point during the interview that the local did not discriminate. It was more common among the officers in the CIO to admit shortcomings in the local's rate of advancement in anti-discrimination efforts. There was also a more frequent expression of apology or regret when CIO officials felt the ratio of Negro-Americans in their unions was too low. AFL officers were more inclined to simply give the answers requested, often with explanations for the number reported, but not often with any expression of regret or apology if there were not many Negro members reported.

There was not much expression from either group on labor solidarity of white and black workers standing together in a united labor front against management. The few times it was expressed it came chiefly from the CIO.

The support of the Negro worker by the NAACP and Urban League offices has been a frequent reference point in a number of the sections of the study. Such support may be needed in increasing measure if economic conditions become less favorable to full employment. The writer feels that the support will be forthcoming from these offices.

There have been apparent gains for the Negro worker in several categories. Numerical gains have been high in the

categories labelled by Mr. Dellums "Negro-work". Such categories have been more readily available to the black worker in the past. It occasions less surprise, then, when the defense boom subsides, to find these categories reporting increased Negro membership. Such groups, mentioned by Mr. Dellums, were Construction Laborers, Culinary Workers, Laundries, and Building Service Workers.

The defense work which drew the Negro into the Bay Area has given him work in shipbuilding and repair and in shipyard and shop labor. His gains in the Boilermakers and Machinists locals have been especially significant because of the record of color discrimination in the history of both groups.

His gains in Carpentry and Painting in the Bay Area, despite his admitted lack of skill in both crafts, would seem to be unusually encouraging.

Not much of the teamstering in the Bay Area is handled by Negro teamsters, chauffeurs, taxi drivers, or delivery drivers. Present indications from the writer's field work are not favorable to the Negro worker in this category.

Gains in railroad and street transport are encouraging for the same reason that gains in such unions as the Boilermakers, Machinists, and Blacksmiths are encouraging. These fields were formerly closed to the Negro worker.

There has not been evidence of an important place for Negro professional and technical workers outside the segregated communities.

If there has been any single impression gained by the writer during this study which stands out above the others, it is the impression of the influence of the war time labor vacuum on the Negro worker in the Bay Area.

It seems to have drawn him here in the first place. In the second place it gave him thousands of war time jobs, and with many of them his first union experience. In the third place, and perhaps most important in this study, it has made it possible for him to enter the post war period with substantial residues of employment in industries which gave him his war time opportunities. It has also left him in the unions with jurisdiction in these industries.

Not all union officials could give estimates on the war time employment of Negroes or the pre-war employment of Negroes. Those who could offer an interesting summary on this point.

Five CIO unions, representing 18,600 members, reported a total of 6 Negro members before the war and 3127 Negro members in May of 1948. The figures at the peak of the defense boom were not available.

Thirty-three AFL unions gave replies to all three questions on pre-war, war time membership peak, and 1948 status. These 33 unions reported a pre-war total of 890 Negro members, 860 of these in the Laborers and in the Building Service Employees. The war time membership peak of the 33 unions totalled 29,314 Negro members. The 1948

membership of the same 33 unions was reported as 7670. This figure might appear small against the 29,314 war time figure. Caucasians have lost such war time jobs in great number also. More white workers have dropped out of the one union, Boilermakers Local 6, than were reported in Negro membership in all 33 AFL locals. 31,000 Caucasian boilermakers have left this one local.

The figure of 7670 is significant, not when placed against a war time inflated figure of 29,314, but when placed beside the pre-war figure of 890 Negro unionists in the 33 locals. Adding the CIO and AFL pre-war and 1948 figures gives 896 before the war and 10,797 in 1948.

This study has seemed to indicate that the Negro-American worker has made substantial gains in union membership in the San Francisco Bay Area. The figure of almost 10,000 clear gain in the 38 locals is significant. The previously cited figure of 9.6 per cent of AFL membership, 14.1 per cent of CIO membership, and an over all average of 10.6 per cent of the 246,956 union members in the 205 locals studied would appear to be significant in terms of population ratio. The 1940 ratio for the Negro-American in the nation's population was 9.8 per cent, as previously cited from Myrdal. In the Bay Area, depending upon which population estimate we take from pages 76-77 of this thesis, the figure for the Negro's ratio in the population would run between 4.2 and 5.3 per cent. Even if we take the higher of the two figures, the

Negro's trade union membership ratio would be exactly twice that of his population ratio.

In the fifth month of the year 1948, then, the Negro-American has made significant gains in the AFL and CIO locals in the Bay Area. His numerical gains have been cited above. His psychological gains seem important to the writer. He has penetrated industries and labor unions in a number of instances for the first time. Several unions were noted in Chapter III as having removed the color bar from their constitutions. (1) He has been called "a good union man" a number of time during the writer's field work among Caucasian labor leaders. It has been said that once the whites have learned to know him, acceptance has become increasingly easier.

Whatever the economic future may hold, it may be said that the Negro-American worker, in the light of his past relationships with the American labor movement, did not occupy an unfavorable position in the San Francisco Bay Area AFL and CIO unions in May, 1948.

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(1) See Appendix for membership provisions of unions with which this study has been concerned

APPENDIX I

Excerpts from membership qualifications and regulations of CIO and AFL Unions with which this study has been concerned

1. International Air-Line Pilots Association, AFL (3000) (1946)

> "Any person of lawful age and of good moral character who serves as a pilot or copilot on scheduled air carrier aircraft in interstate, overseas, or foreign commerce..."

Contrary to Northrup's classification the Pilots do not exclude Negroes or anyone else from membership. The pilots are hired by the employers of the various air lines, who have never hired any Negro pilots. The IAPA Constitution and By-Laws have no discriminatory clauses whatever.

2. International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers, AFL (4000) (1946)

> "Anyone who works at the trade... who is a citizen of the United States or Canada or will make application for citizenship, is eligible for membership."

This Association appeared in our classification outline, Chapter III, among those practicing exclusion by tacit consent.

3. United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, CIO (1,100,000) (1946)

> "Any worker within jurisdiction of union may become a member 'regardless of religion, race, creed, color, political affiliation or nationality'."

4. Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, AFL (91,900) (1946)

> "Applicant for membership must be or declare intentions of becoming a citizen of United States or Canada..."

5. Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, AFL (49,000) (1946)

"Any competent journeyman actively engaged in the trade, ...'not a member of any organization hostile to the American form of government...'."

6. International Alliance of Bill Poster, Billers and Distributors of America, AFL (3000) (1946)

"Members must be 18 years or over and pass proficiency examination."

7. International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, AFL (10,000) (1946)

In 1946 the Blacksmiths removed from membership regulations the passage. "Negro helpers are admitted only to auxiliary locals which are under the jurisdiction of the white local in the locality, except in Canada".

8. International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, and Helpers of America, AFL (350,000) (1946)

In 1945 the Supreme Court of California by a vote of 7-0 ruled that closed shop agreements are not enforceable while Negro workers remain in an auxiliary union. This decision was aimed at the Boilermakers' membership clause, "Negro members are organized into auxiliary locals which are under the jurisdiction of the nearest white locals".

See discussion of Boilermakers' locals in the Bay Area in Chapter III.

9. International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, AFL (27,065) (1946)

"Workers within the union's jurisdiction who are citizens of their respective countries..."

10. Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America, AFL (65,000) (1946)

"Candidate for membership must be citizen or declare intention of becoming citizen of United States or Canada. ...No one may be 'black balled' except for incompetency."

This is enforceable by a $100 fine against any member who discriminates against a fellow craftsman because of race, creed, or nationality.

11. International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, AFL (150,000) (1946)

"Anyone working within union's jurisdiction is eligible for membership."

12. Building service Employees' International Union, AFL (70,000) (1946)

"Any employee working within the union's jurisdiction who is an American citizen or will become one as soon as eligible, is eligible for membership."

13. United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, AFL (722,000) (1946)

"Candidates must be 17 to 60 years of age, citizens or have filed citizenship intentions."

This union appeared in our classification outline among the unions tolerating discrimination on the local level.

14. International Association of Cleaning and Dye House Workers, AFL (17,100) (1946)

"Members of any organization having for its aim 'the overthrow by force of the United States' are not eligible."

15. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, CIO (300,000) (1946)

"Any worker employed or seeking employment within the union's jurisdiction is eligible..."

16. United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO (700,000) (1946)

"All persons working within jurisdiction are eligible for membership 'regardless of skill, age, sex, nationality, color, religious or political belief or affiliation."

17. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, AFL (336,854) (1946)

"Any electrical worker of good character not over 55 years of age and not less than 16..."

18. International Union of Operating Engineers, AFL (100,000) (1946)

"Any male engineer engaged in the craft over which this organization exercises craft jurisdiction..."

19. International Association of Fire Fighters, AFL (40,500) (1946)

"Any person is eligible who is working within trade jurisdiction."

20. International Union of Fishermen and Allied Workers of America, CIO (20,000) (1946)

"Anyone is eligible provided he is not a member of a dual organization or of any organization 'hostile to the International, its aims and purposes."

21. International Fur and Leather Workers Union, CIO (90,000) (1946)

"All workers employed in and around any branch of the fur industry, or in any branch of the leather industry are eligible, regardless of sex, race, creed, color, nationality or political belief or affiliation."

22. United Furniture Workers of America, CIO (45,000) (1946)

"All workers in the industry 'regardless of craft, age, sex, nationality, race, creed, and political belief."

23. United Garment Workers of America, AFL (40,000) (1946)

"Anyone 16 years of age and over, working at the trade..."

24. International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, AFL (325,000) (1946)

"Any male or female working within jurisdiction."

25. Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada, AFL (24,000) (1946)

"All workers under jurisdiction are eligible except a 'Communist, Nazi, or Fascist'..."

26. American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America, AFL (26,000) (1946)

"Any worker in the trade, not less than 18 years old, who is 'a person of sober and industrious habits', and an American citizen."

This Union appeared in our classification outline among those who exclude Negroes by tacit consent.

27. American Federation of Government Employees, AFL (33,500) (1946)

"Anyone working within the union's jurisdiction."

28. United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, AFL (40,000) (1946)

"Any worker within the union's jurisdiction, 'male or female, irrespective of creed, color or nationality'..."

29. International Hod Carriers' Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, AFL (350,000) (1946)

"Any person working in the union's jurisdiction 'of good moral character' and a citizen or who has declared his intention of becoming a citizen..."

30. Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, AFL (354,731) (1946)

"Any male or female of good moral character 'without regard to race, religion or color'..."

This union, despite the specific reference to "color", appeared in our classification outline among those who tolerate discrimination on the local level.

31. Inland Boatmen's Union of the Pacific, AFL (3000) (1946)

"There are no restrictions of race, creed, color, or nationality."

32. International Jewelry Workers' Union, AFL (10,000) (1946)

"No one is barred because of color, race, nationality, creed or political affiliations."

33. International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers, AFL (8,100) (1946)

"No one shall be discriminated against for race or color."

34. Laundry Workers International Union, AFL (50,000)

(1946)

"Any person is eligible who is actively employed within the union's jurisdiction."

35. United Leather workers International Union, AFL (3200)

(1946)

"All wage earners working within the union's jurisdiction."

36. National Association of Letter carriers, AFL (60,000)

(1946)

"Members must be a regular or substitute Letter carrier."

37. National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers, AFL (400)

Negroes eligible as members, but not as officers.

38. International Longshoremen's Association, AFL (61,000)

(1946)

"Applicant must be a citizen of the country in which he is applying, or show intention of becoming a citizen."

39. International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union,

CIO (50,000) (1946)

"All workers within the union's jurisdiction 'regardless of religion, race, creed, color, political affiliation or nationality'..."

40. International Association of Machinists, AFL (665,900)

(1946)

"Anyone working in the union's jurisdiction..."

This is the union which transferred its color bar from its constitution to its ritual in order to gain original admittance to the AFL in 1895. See discussion of this Association in Chapter III.

41. Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, AFL

(120,000) (1946)

"Negroes are admitted under the direct control of the system's division or federation where employed, and are entitled to all benefits and protection. They are represented at conventions by delegates of their own choice selected from white locals on their system division although they may maintain separate locals for social purposes."

This Brotherhood appeared in our classification outline among those unions with segregated auxiliary status for Negro members.

42. Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Association of the Pacific

Coast, CIO (8000) (1946)

"Applicants must be elegible for American citizenship, but no member may be discriminated against because 'of race, color, or creed'."

43. Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of

America, CIO (400,000) (1946)

"All workers in the industry..."

44. National Maritime Union of America, CIO (90,000) (1946)

"No person shall be excluded from membership by reason of race, color, religious belief, sex or political affiliation."

45. National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America,

AFL (3000) (1946)

"Any worker within the union's jurisdiction, who is 'of good moral character, in sound health, and a firm believer in God, the Creator of the Universe'..."

This organization removed from its constitution the phrase, "any white person", and from its apprenticeship section the phrase, "any male white person". The action was probably taken at the 1944 convention, since Northrup's

1944 publication did not have the information before going to press, but American Mercury published the information in July, 1945.

The organization appeared in our classification outline among the unions which tolerate discrimination on the local level.

46. Amalgamated meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL (168,311) (1946)

"Anyone working within the union's jurisdiction who is 16 years old or over and in good health..."

47. Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, and Helpers International Union, AFL (30,000) (1946)

"Anyone working within the union's jurisdiction..."

48. International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, CIO (125,000) (1946)

"There may be no discrimination because of 'race, color, religious or political beliefs'."

49. United Mine Workers of America, Independent (600,000) (1946)

"Workers within jurisdiction are eligible for membership regardless of 'creed, color, or nationality'."

50. International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America, AFL (66,000) (1946)

"Any molder who has served apprenticeship of four years and is competent to command a general average of wages paid in the branch...with which ie is identified."

51. American Federation of Musicians, AFL (151,000) (1946)

"Applicants must be citizens or have filed first citizenship papers. No local or its officers shall suffer a known Communist, Nazi, or Fascist to become a member of its local."

This Federation appeared in our classification outline among those who provide segregated auxiliary locals for Negro members.

52. United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO

(52,000) (1946)

"Any employee working within the union's jurisdiction without regard to 'race, color, or religious or political beliefs'."

53. Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of

America, AFL (181,380) (1946)

"Members are accepted by majority vote of the local. Members of the German-American Bund, the Nazi Party, the Fascist Party or the Communist Party are not eligible..."

This Brotherhood appeared in our classification outline among those unions tolerating discrimination on the local level.

54. International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America,

AFL (10,900) (1946)

"All persons within the trade...21 years of age or over."

55. Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International

Association of the United States and Canada, AFL

(25,000) (1946)

"Anyone qualified to work within the union's jurisdiction..."

This Association provides a $100 fine assessable against any member who discriminates a fellow-craftsman because of race, creed, or nationality.

56. United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada, AFL (201,000) (1946)

"Any skilled craftsman, of 'sound moral character', with a minimum of five years' actual experience in trade is eligible."

This Association appeared in our classification outline among those unions who exclude Negroes by tacit consent. The examining board has been a most effective instrument of exclusion, as Spero and Harris have pointed out in Appendix III of "The Black Worker".

57. National Federation of Post Office Clerks, AFL (45,000) (1944)

"Any person within jurisdiction..."

58. International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' union of North America, AFL (65,000) (1944)

"Members must be at least 21 years old and qualified to work at trade..."

59. Order of Railroad Telegraphers, AFL (45,000) (1944)

"Any white person of good moral character"...under the union's jurisdiction.

This Order appeared in our classification outline among those unions excluding Negroes by constitutional provision.

60. Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, AFL (80,000) (1943)

In 1947 this Brotherhood removed from the constitution the membership clause, "any white person", and the sentence, "On railroads where employment of Negroes has become a permanent institution they are admitted to membership in

separate lodges, which shall be under jurisdiction of and represented by the delegates of the nearest white local in any meeting of the joint protective board, federation or convention where delegates may be seated."

Since the Carmen have replaced the constitutional passages cited above with the practice of local option, they have naturally fallen into the classification outline among the unions which tolerate discrimination on the local level. This is a change, however, from the previous classification of exclusion by segregation in the constitution.

61. Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight

Handlers, Express and Station Employees, AFL

(301,997) (1946)

In 1946 this Brotherhood removed the membership clause, "all white persons" from the membership section of its constitution.

The Clerks have also instituted local option and thus fit into our classification outline among the organizations which tolerate discrimination on the local level. This does, of course, constitute an important change.

62. Railway Mail Association, AFL (21,800) (1943)

"Any male regular or substitute railway postal clerk working in jurisdiction who is of the Caucasian race, or a native American Indian..."

This Association appeared in our classification outline in the group excluding Negroes by constitutional provision. The inclusion of a specific minority group, the American Indian, is worth mention.

63. Retail Clerks International Protective Association, AFL

(100,000) (1946)

"All persons over the age of 16 years regardless of sex".

64. United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers Association, AFL (8000) (1946)

"Members must be citizens or have declared intentions..."

65. Seafarers International Union of North America, AFL (35,000) (1946)

"All workers within jurisdiction...except anyone who is a member of or advocates principles or policies of any dual organization hostile to the seafarers..."

This Union appeared in our classification outline among those unions excluding Negroes by tacit consent.

66. Sheet Metal Workers' International Association, AFL (25,000) (1944)

"Negro applicants are organized with the consent of the affiliated white local union as an auxiliary...and shall be represented by said white local union at all conferences and conventions, including the International Convention."

This Association appeared in our classification outline among the groups providing segregated auxiliary status for Negroes.

67. International Association of Siderographers, AFL (100) (1946)

"Anyone working within the union's jurisdiction, of good moral standing and five years' experience..."

68. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL (10,000) (1946)

"Anyone working within the union's jurisdiction regardless of race, sex, creed, color or nationality..."

69. International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, AFL (45,000) (1946)

"Any person...of good moral character and reputation, of legal age,...not a member of an organization having for its aim the overthrow, by force, of the Constitution and Government of the United States and Canada."

70. United Public Workers, CIO (Formerly State, County and Municipal Workers of America, CIO) (48,000) (1946)

"Membership shall not be denied because of sex, race, color, religion, or political belief."

71. United Steelworkers of America, CIO (725,308) (1946)

(This figure excludes 66,900 members in the armed forces)

"Any man or woman...regardless of race, creed, color, or nationality..."

72. International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers Union of North america, AFL (9000) (1946)

"Any journeyman working under the union's jurisdiction who is a competent workman and a citizen of the United States or Canada or has declared his intention..."

73. Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America, AFL (125,000) (1944)

"Anyone working within the union's jurisdiction who is in good health..."

74. Switchmen's Union of North America, AFL (9,300) (1946)

"Any white male person of good moral character..."

This Union appeared in our classification outline among the unions excluding Negroes by constitutional provision.

75. International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, AFL (630,000) (1946)

"Members must be 18 years of age or over...citizens, or have declared their intention...No member of the Communist Party...Women in dairy work and 'qualified' Negro workers are eligible."

The word, "qualified", is not applied in the membership section to Caucasians, only to Negroes, which would seem to imply some differentiation between the two groups.

76. Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America, AFL (20,000) (1944)

The 1944 membership section does not carry the clause formerly appearing in the Commercial Telegraphers' constitutional provisions, "any white person", but reads, "Anyone working within the union's jurisdiction except... Communist, Fascist, Nazi, or dual organization."

This Union appeared in our classification outline among the organizations tolerating discrimination on the local level. The removal of the color bar, however, is worthy of note.

77. United Brotherhood of Telephone Workers, CIO

This is a new union facing the situation of a field which has been chiefly Caucasian prior to organization by the CIO. Whether the non-discrimination policy of the CIO-UBTW will be slow to materialize it is too early to predict in 1948.

78. Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers, CIO (65,000) (1946)

"All employees within the union's jurisdiction... regardless of race, religion, creed, color, political affiliation or nationality."

80. International Typographical Union, AFL (83,500) (1944)

"Any qualified man or woman working in the union's jurisdiction..."

81. Upholsterers' International Union of North America,

AFL (50,000) (1944)

"Any person qualified for work under the union's jurisdiction..."

82. Utility Workers Union of America, CIO (35,000) (1946)

Follows the practice of non-discrimination by reason of race, color, creed, or nationality.

83. American Wire Weavers Protective Association, AFL

(400) (1946)

Northrup classified the Wire Weavers as excluding Negroes by constitutional provision. The Wire Weavers, however, revised their constitution in 1939, five years before Northrup's classification was printed. Correspondence to the writer from Mr. William J. Duffy, National Secretary-Treasurer of the Wire Weavers, advises that the color bar was removed in 1939, that while there are no Negro members included in the 400 listed above, there are several young Negro boys working in their plant. When ratio permits these boys starting in as apprentices, "there is no provision in our laws which can bar them".

Data derived from Florence Peterson's *Labor Handbook*, 1944, Correspondence with the Air Line Pilots and the American Wire Weavers' Protective Association, and field work in the San Francisco Bay Area by the writer during March, April, and May of 1948

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